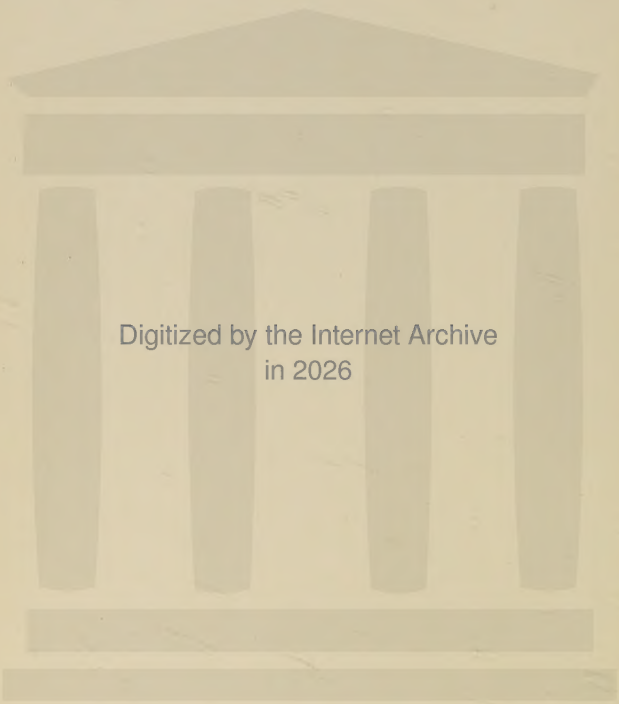
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THE HOLY SPIRIT

IN THE ANCIENT CHURCH

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THE HOLY SPIRIT
IN THE ANCIENT CHURCH

A STUDY OF CHRISTIAN TEACHING IN THE AGE OF THE FATHERS

BY

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HON. CANON OF ELY: HON. CHAPLAIN TO THE KING

τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ νύμφη

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PREFACE

THIS book is a sequel to a Study of primitive Christian teaching upon the Holy Spirit which was published three years ago. Like its predecessor, it is not a formal contribution to the History of Doctrine, and does not claim the attention of professed students of theology. Some attempt was made to supply the needs of students in my two early books, *On the Early History of the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit* (1873), and *On the History of the Doctrine of the Procession* (1876). Both are now out of print, but their substance is accessible in an article (HOLY GHOST) which may be found in the third volume of the *Dictionary of Christian Biography* (1882); and to that article I must refer those who desire a fuller or more exact treatment of certain aspects of the subject than this book can offer.

In the present Study I have had in view chiefly those readers of *The Holy Spirit in the New Testament* who may wish to pursue the subject into post-apostolic times, but for various reasons are unable to examine the original documents for themselves. With the view of preparing for this book I have read again all the more important Greek and Latin patristic authorities of the first five centuries, and a few which belong to the sixth, seventh, and eighth, and have sought to form my impressions afresh. For the

translations I am myself responsible, except in a few specified instances. I have purposely adopted a somewhat free rendering, and occasionally I have preferred a paraphrase or a summary to a more exact reproduction of the original words; the footnotes, however, give the latter when they are of special importance, and references are added in all cases, so that readers who may wish to verify or to push their enquiries further will always be able to do so.

My friend the Dean of Lichfield (Dr H. E. Savage) has done me the great kindness of reading the proofs of this book at an early stage of its passage through the press, and verifying a large proportion of the references. To his lists of corrigenda he has added from time to time valuable suggestions, most of which I have gladly accepted. I desire also once more to place on record my indebtedness to the unfailing attention of the officers of the University Press. Nearly forty years have passed since the Press printed my first book upon this subject, and I am thankful that it has been permitted to me to entrust to the same careful and efficient hands that which in all probability will be my last.

H. B. S.

CAMBRIDGE,
St Peter's Day, 1912.

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ἔστιν...πνεῦμα νοερόν, ἅγιον, μονογενές, πολυμερές, λεπτόν, εὐκίνητον, τρανόν, ἀμόλυντον, σαφές, ἀπήμαντον, φιλάγαθον, ὀξύ, ἀκώλυτον, εὐεργετικόν, φιλάνθρωπον, βέβαιον, ἀσφαλές, ἀμέριμνον, παντοδύναμον, πανεπίσκοπον, καὶ διὰ πάντων χωροῦν πνευμάτων νοερῶν καθαρῶν λεπτοτάτων.

Wisdom of Solomon.

FOREWORD.

When the student of early Christian literature passes from the New Testament to the post-canonical writers, he becomes aware of a loss of both literary and spiritual power. There is no immediate change in the form of the writings; the earliest remains of the sub-apostolic age consist of letters addressed to churches or individuals after the model of the Apostolic Epistles. But the note of authority which is heard in the Epistles of St Peter, St Paul, and St John has no place in those of Clement of Rome and Ignatius of Antioch[1]; and there is little evidence in the latter of the originality or the inspiration by which the leaders of the first generation were distinguished. The spiritual giants of the Apostolic age are succeeded by men of lower stature and poorer capacity. Nor does the fresh power of the first century altogether return to the Church in the years that follow. A higher literary standard is reached in the second century; the third is adorned by the great name of Origen; the fourth and fifth centuries can boast of an Athanasius, a Basil, a Gregory Nazianzen, a Chrysostom, an Augustine. But none of these classical authors of Christian

[1] Cf. Ign. *Rom.* 4 οὐχ ὡς Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν· ἐκεῖνοι ἀπόστολοι.

antiquity profess to originate or to reveal; all recognize in the Apostolic writers their masters, and their best work is done in the field of New Testament exposition or in expressing New Testament doctrine in the terms of a later theology.

It may be asked whether it is needful to pursue the study of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit into a period which cannot claim to teach with either the authority or the creative power of the Apostolic age. The answer is that no Christian doctrine, as it is now expressed, can be rightly understood without some knowledge of the history of Christian thought. The Christianity of the present day has not been evolved directly out of the New Testament, but is the product of the gradual assimilation of the original deposit by a long succession of Christian generations. Nor is this fact to be regretted. Those who accept the teaching of the fourth Gospel will not doubt that the process of assimilation has been guided as a whole by the same Power that inspired the first age. The world-long experience of the universal Church, of which her literature is the abiding record, is the best interpretation of the Apostolic tradition. It has taken the original tradition, written and unwritten, out of the setting which belonged to a single age and to conditions that have long vanished, and has brought it into relation with successive developements of thought and life, by which it has been prepared for the use of still later generations.

In this volume the history of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit is carried to the end of the Patristic period, which is generally held to terminate with Gregory the Great in the West and John of Damascus in the East. This period falls naturally into two large sections, divided by the rise of Arianism; the former is dealt with in the first part of the book, and the latter in the second. A third part collects the teaching of the whole period under its principal heads.

It may be convenient to readers who are not familiar with the general history of doctrine if a sketch is given here of the results reached in each of the two subdivisions of our period, so far as they relate to the doctrine of the Holy Spirit.

1. In the pre-Arian age the question of the relation of the Holy Spirit to the Father and the Son does not become acute. The nature of the Spirit, which in the New Testament had received little direct treatment, continues to be unexplored with a few partial exceptions. In early creeds and doxologies, as in the form of Baptism on which they are based, He is associated with the Father and the Son; and His place in the Divine Trinity is vindicated by great writers such as Tertullian and Origen, each of whom endeavours, *more suo*, to formulate some statement of the relation of the Third Person to the First and the Second. Pre-Arian heresy also attempted to find a place for the Spirit in the schemes of doctrine by which it sought to protect belief in the Unity of God. But throughout the Ante-Nicene age the

Person of the Son was chiefly discussed, and the question of the Godhead and personal distinctness of the Holy Spirit continued to be subordinate. Meanwhile the Christian consciousness realized the paramount importance of the work fulfilled by the Spirit in the life of the Church and her members. A rapidly growing Christian society interpreted afresh in the light of its own experience the teaching of the New Testament on the grace of the Sacraments, the relation of the Spirit to the Body of Christ, and the mystery of the inner life. But there was an uneasy sense that questions remained which the Church could not leave unanswered, and for which as yet no answer had been found.

2. Arianism, if carried to its logical conclusion, would from the first have attributed a created nature to the Holy Spirit; and there is reason to believe that Arius definitely took up this position. But once again the question of the Spirit's nature was postponed in view of the immediate necessity for arriving at a settlement on the subject of the Person of the Son. After this had been gained, as it seemed, by the action of the Council of Nicaea, fresh complications arose which delayed the consideration of the Person of the Spirit for more than thirty years. Even then the subject might not have come to the front, had not the Church been called to action by a challenge from the Arian side. But once aroused she spared no effort to vindicate the uncreated nature of the Spirit of God; and in a series of great works, partly polemical, partly constructive in character, the

whole theology of the Spirit was reviewed and His co-essentiality with the Father and the Son established. One point only remained on which no agreement was reached—the relation of the Spirit to the Son in the interior life of the Blessed Trinity. On this question a fresh controversy arose between Catholic Christians, but only the beginnings of that unhappy strife fall within the period with which we are concerned.

In our own time the doctrine of the Holy Spirit has aroused an interest which seems likely to grow and extend as attention is increasingly fixed on the spiritual side of human nature. It is possible that modern life, as it escapes from the control of a crude materialism, may be led to seek the solution of its perplexities in the Christian doctrine of a Divine Spirit working in the world and in man; and that the Christian doctrine, on the other hand, may gain by contact with modern thought, as in the early centuries it gained by contact with Greek philosophy. In this way it may be given to our own age or to the next to make its own contribution to the expression of this great article of our faith; a contribution which, while leaving the ancient landmarks undisturbed, will take account of the new and rapidly widening experience of these latter days. But it is imperative that any reconstruction or developement that may be attempted by the theologians of our time be made in full view of the long history that lies behind the existing forms of belief and, not least, of that portion of the history which is now to come under review.

SANCTUS, SANCTUS, SANCTUS, DOMINUS DEUS SABAOTH,
PLENI SUNT CAELI ET TERRA MAIESTATIS GLORIAE TUAE.

* * * * *

TE PER ORBEM TERRARUM SANCTA CONFITETUR ECCLESIA ;
PATREM INMENSAE MAIESTATIS,
UENERANDUM TUUM UERUM ET UNICUM FILIUM,
SANCTUM QUOQUE PARACLETUM SPIRITUM.

PART I.

FROM THE END OF THE FIRST CENTURY TO THE END OF THE ANTE-NICENE PERIOD.

I. The Sub-apostolic Writers.

II. The Greek Apologists.

III. The Gnostic Sects.

IV. The Montanists.

V. Irenaeus of Lyons.

VI. Monarchians and anti-Monarchians.

VII. The Church of North Africa.

VIII. The Church of Alexandria.

IX. Other ante-Nicene Writers and Documents.

I.

THE SUB-APOSTOLIC WRITERS.

THERE is no chronological break in the continuity of early Christian teaching; the earliest of the sub-apostolic writings is contemporary with the latest writings of the Apostolic age. If the traditional date of the Apocalypse of St John is correct (A.D. 95–6), not more than a few months can have elapsed between the Apocalypse and the Epistle of Clement which immediately follows it in the Codex Alexandrinus. When Clement wrote in the name of the Roman Church to the Church at Corinth, the persecution which St John saw to be imminent in Asia had already broken[1] on the Church of the capital.

Clement of Rome, 1 *Corinthians.*

It was not, however, the stress of persecution that moved the Roman Christians to write to Corinth. Clement's letter is an exhortation to unity addressed to a Church torn by dissension. The subject suggests references to the 'unity of the Spirit,' and this topic is not overlooked. The

[1] Cf. Clem. 1 *Cor.* i. 1 διὰ τὰς αἰφνιδίους καὶ ἐπαλλήλους γενομένας ἡμῖν (Lat. *quae contigerunt nobis*) συμφοράς.

Part I. i.

Corinthians are reminded how in earlier and better days "a deep peace was vouchsafed to all...and there came on all a full outpouring of the Holy Spirit[1]." "Why are there among you (they are asked) these strifes and outbreaks of passion and factions and divisions and war? Have we not one God, and one Christ, and one Spirit of grace that was poured upon us, and one calling in Christ[2]"? "As God lives, and the Lord Jesus Christ lives, and the Holy Spirit, who are at once the faith and the hope of the elect[3]." Here we have a clear trace of trinitarian belief, to which Basil was able to point when in the fourth century he maintained that the Godhead of the Spirit belonged to the oldest tradition of the Church[4].

Yet it is neither of the Spirit's work in the hearts of believers nor of His own Divine life that the first of sub-apostolic writers chiefly speaks. He thinks habitually of the Holy Spirit as the Inspirer of Scripture, and especially of the Old Testament, from which most of his arguments are drawn. "Let us do that which is written, for the Holy Spirit saith...[5]" "The Holy Spirit spake of Him," i.e., of Christ, in Isa. liii.[6] "You have looked closely into the Scriptures, which are true, and were given by the Holy Spirit" (*τὰς διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος*

[1] ii. 2 *πλήρης πνεύματος ἁγίου ἔκχυσις ἐπὶ πάντας ἐγένετο.*

[2] xlvi. 5 f. *ἓν πνεῦμα χάριτος τὸ ἐκχυθὲν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς.*

[3] lviii. 2 *ζῇ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς καὶ ζῇ ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἥ τε πίστις καὶ ἡ ἐλπὶς τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν.*

[4] *De spiritu sancto* xxix. § 72.

[5] xiii. 1.

[6] xvi. 2.

τοῦ ἁγίου)[1]. Christ "Himself calls us by the Holy Spirit," i.e., in Psalm xxxiv. 11 f.[2] The writers of the Old Testament, when they call men to repentance, are "ministers of the grace of God[3]." The Apostles shared the inspiration of the Prophets; they "went forth with a full conviction which was of the Holy Spirit" (*μετὰ πληροφορίας πνεύματος ἁγίου*); they "proved" the bishops and deacons whom they appointed "by the Spirit[4]." St Paul wrote to the Corinthians under the influence of the Spirit (*πνευματικῶς*)[5], and the Roman Church did not doubt that their own letter to Corinth was similarly inspired[6]. Inspiration, in fact, is the function most commonly attributed by Clement to the Holy Spirit. If we compare his Epistle with the Epistles of St Paul to the same Church a difference in this respect comes into sight. Clement was acquainted with St Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians, but he does not shew St Paul's lively sense of the Spirit's place in the normal Christian life.

Ignatius of Antioch. The Seven Letters.

Fifteen or twenty years after the date of Clement's letter the Syrian Bishop, Ignatius, on his way from Antioch to Rome addressed letters to five of the Churches in the province of Asia, to the Church at Rome whither he was going, and to his friend Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna. These letters,

[1] xlv. 2. [2] xxii. 1.

[3] viii. 1. [4] xlii. 3, 4. [5] xlvii. 3.

[6] lxiii. 2 *τοῖς ὑφ' ἡμῶν γεγραμμένοις διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ἁγίου.* Cf. lix. 1 *τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ* [sc. Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ] *δι' ἡμῶν εἰρημένοις.* Cf. xlv. 1—3.

Part I. i.

unlike the letter of Clement, are all unofficial and personal; and they bear the marks of a strong personality, wanting perhaps in balance and in culture, but loyal to its convictions and full of spiritual power. There were times when Ignatius believed himself to be moved by the Spirit, and to speak as the Spirit gave him utterance. Thus, in a notable passage of his letter to the Philadelphians, he writes: "If there were some who wished to mislead me after the flesh, yet the Spirit is not to be misled, being from God (ἀπὸ θεοῦ ὄν)[1]...When I was in your midst I cried aloud, I spake with a great voice, the voice of God, 'Give heed to the Bishop and the presbytery and deacons.' There were those who suspected me of saying this because I knew beforehand of the divisions which certain persons would make. But He in whom I am bound is my witness that what I knew was not from human flesh, but it was the Spirit who preached by my lips, 'Do nothing apart from the Bishop[2].'" It is interesting to observe that Ignatius can combine a claim to prophetic inspiration with a passionate zeal for a regular and fully organized ministry. He is persuaded that while the Holy Spirit still spoke by the Prophets, the threefold ministry of bishops, presbyters, and deacons was also after the mind of Christ and had been established in the Church by His Holy Spirit[3].

[1] This contrast between σάρξ and πνεῦμα is frequent in Ignatius: see *Eph.* vii. 2, x. 3; *Magn.* xiii. 1; Polyc. i., ii.

[2] *Philad.* vii.

[3] *Philad.* praef. οὗς κατὰ τὸ ἴδιον θέλημα ἐστήριξεν ἐν βεβαιωσύνῃ τῷ ἁγίῳ αὐτοῦ πνεύματι.

But Ignatius also realizes the work of the Spirit in the lives of all faithful members of the Church. With a characteristically graphic extension of a New Testament metaphor he describes them[1] as "stones of the Temple, prepared beforehand for a building of God the Father, hoisted aloft by that engine of Jesus Christ, His Cross; using the Holy Spirit for a rope[2], while your faith is your windlass, and your love the way that leads up to God." The metaphor, as Lightfoot remarks[3], is "extravagant, but not otherwise ill-conceived"; certainly it well expresses the office which the Holy Spirit fulfils in the personal life, placing His work in its true relation to the Sacrifice of the Cross on the one hand, and to human responsibility upon the other. The grace of the Spirit, Ignatius would say, brings the machinery of Redemption into vital connexion with the individual soul. Apart from the Spirit, the Cross stands inert, a vast machine at rest, and about it lie the stones of the building unmoved. Not till the rope has been attached can the work proceed of lifting the individual life through faith and love to the place prepared for it in the Church of God.

Ignatius recognizes the fact of the Miraculous Conception; "Our God, Jesus the Christ, was conceived by Mary according to a Divine dispensation, of the seed of David but of the Holy

[1] *Eph.* ix.

[2] σχοινίῳ χρώμενοι τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ.

[3] *Ignatius* ii. p. 54.

Part I. i.

Ghost[1]." He knows also of the Mission of the Spirit to the Church: "Why have we not all the wisdom to receive the knowledge of God, which is Jesus Christ? Why do we perish in our folly, through ignorance of the Gift which the Lord has truly sent[2]"? In more than one passage he shews some consciousness that the God of the Church is tri-personal; it appears in the passage already quoted from *Ephesians* (ix. 1), and in the following passage from *Magnesians*: "be diligent to be confirmed in the ordinances of the Lord and the Apostles, that ye may prosper in whatsoever ye do in flesh and spirit, by faith and love, in the Son and the Father and in the Spirit[3]." Yet direct references to the Holy Spirit are not so numerous in Ignatius as the deeply spiritual tone of his Epistles would lead us to expect; the Spirit is with him a primary fact of Christian experience rather than a subject for investigation and exact definition.

Polycarp of Smyrna, *Philippians*.

The Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians is practically contemporary with the Epistles of Ignatius, since it appears to have been written shortly after Ignatius had passed through Philippi on his way to Rome[4]. It makes but one doubtful reference to the Holy Spirit: "it is good to hold back from the lusts that are in the world, for every

[1] *Eph.* xviii. 2 ἐκυοφορήθη ὑπὸ Μαρίας κατ' οἰκονομίαν, ἐκ σπέρματος μὲν Δαυίδ, πνεύματος δὲ ἁγίου.

[2] *Eph.* xvii. 2 τὸ χάρισμα ὃ πέπομφεν ἀληθῶς ὁ κύριος.

[3] *Magn.* xiii. 1 ἐν υἱῷ καὶ πατρί, καὶ ἐν πνεύματι.

[4] Polyc. *Phil.* i., ix.

lust makes war against the Spirit[1]." Perhaps it is the human spirit of which Polycarp is thinking, but the human spirit under the influence of the Divine.

Martyrdom.

Forty years later Polycarp suffered martyrdom at Smyrna. His last words, as they stand in the encyclical letter of his Church[2], testify to the place which the Holy Spirit by this time held in the faith and worship of the Church. Looking up to heaven the martyr said, "Lord God Almighty, Father of Thy beloved and blessed Son Jesus Christ, I bless Thee that Thou hast counted me worthy of this day and hour, that I may have part in the number of the martyrs, in the Cup of Thy Christ, unto resurrection to life eternal of both soul and body in the incorruptibility of the Holy Spirit[3]....I glorify Thee through the eternal and heavenly High Priest, Jesus Christ Thy beloved Son, through whom together with Him and the Holy Spirit be the glory both now and ever[4]." This is the earliest instance of a doxology in which the Spirit is glorified together with the Father and the Son. If the words were spoken by Polycarp, as the letter represents, they have a special importance as the last testimony of a martyr who was a Christian thirty years

[1] *Ib.* v. κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος στρατεύεται. Cf. 1 Pet. ii. 11 στρατεύονται κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς.

[2] *Mart. Polyc.* xiv. 1.

[3] ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ πνεύματος ἁγίου.

[4] δι' οὗ καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ἡ δόξα. Eusebius, however, reads ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ (*H. E.* v. 15).

Part I. i.

before the end of the first century and had been a hearer of St John[1]. Are we to conclude that a doxology such as this had long been familiar to this convert of Apostles[2]? Or was it drawn from him by the elevation of spirit which exalts the true martyr in his last moments? If, on the other hand, the words are due to the Smyrnaean writer of the Martyrdom, they may well be a reminiscence of a form which their Bishop was accustomed to use at the Eucharist.

Epistle of Barnabas.

The Epistle of Barnabas is probably an Alexandrian writing of the time of Hadrian. Dealing chiefly with the Christian interpretation of the Levitical ritual, Barnabas refers to the Holy Spirit principally as the teacher of the Old Testament saints and heroes. "Moses spake in the Spirit," "the Spirit spake to his heart[3]"; Abraham "in the Spirit looked forward to Jesus[4]"; Jacob "by the Spirit saw a type" of the Christian Church[5]. There are passages, however, where this writer shews a keen appreciation of the Spirit's work under the New Covenant. "I rejoice," he begins, "in your happy, glorious, spirits; so innate is the grace of the spiritual gift that you have received[6]." "I see of a truth in you the Spirit poured out from the rich Lord who is its

[1] Cf. *Mart. Polyc.* ix. 3, Iren. *fragm.* 2.

[2] Iren. iii. 4 ὑπὸ ἀποστόλων μαθητευθείς.

[3] Bar. x. 2, xii. 2.

[4] ix. 7 ἐν πνεύματι προβλέψας εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν.

[5] xiii. 5 εἶδεν τύπον τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ μεταξύ.

[6] i. 2 f. οὕτως ἔμφυτον τῆς δωρεᾶς πνευματικῆς χάριν εἰλήφατε.

source[1]." The disciples of Christ should be "simple in heart but rich in spirit." Christ "came not to call men with respect of persons, but He came to those who had been prepared by the Spirit[2]." In Baptism "we go down into the water full of sin and defilement, and we come up again bearing fruit in our heart, and with fear and hope in Jesus in our spirit[3]." In the baptized, as in Christ Himself, the body is the vessel of the Spirit; the human spirit is inhabited by the Divine[4]. "Let us become spiritual men; let us become a perfect temple unto God." "Children of love and peace, be salvation yours: the Lord of glory and of all grace be with your spirit[5]."

The *Didache*[6], or Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, can hardly be later than the fifth decade of the second century, and may well be twenty or thirty years earlier. Even if it comes from some secluded Church among the Syrian hills or far up the Nile, the conditions which it describes are primitive and seem to bespeak a date scarcely later than the reign of Hadrian. The *Didache* touches our subject at two points only. It is the earliest non-canonical book that gives the trinitarian form of Baptism[7]. The writer may have framed his instructions on Matt. xxviii. 19, but he is more probably rehearsing

The *Didache* or *Teaching of the Apostles.*

[1] ἀληθῶς βλέπω ἐν ὑμῖν ἐκκεχυμένον ἀπὸ τοῦ πλουσίου τῆς πηγῆς Κυρίου πνεῦμα ἐφ' ὑμᾶς.

[2] xix. 2, 7. [3] xi. 11.

[4] vii. 3, xi. 9, xxi. 8. [5] iv. 11, xxi. 9. [6] See Add. Note A.

[7] *Did.* vii. 1, 3 βαπτίσατε εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος...ἔκχεον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν τρὶς ὕδωρ εἰς ὄνομα πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος.

Part I. i.

the words actually used at Baptism in his own community. In either case he has learned to associate the Spirit with the Father and the Son in the initiatory consecration of the Christian life. Secondly, the *Didache* is the earliest post-apostolic writing that gives any account of a charismatic ministry. The itinerant teachers from whom the Church of the *Didache* was accustomed to receive visits were known as 'apostles' and 'prophets.' The 'apostles' appear to have been pioneers whose work lay primarily among the heathen; the 'prophets' might settle down in a local Church, and become the 'high priests[1]' of the community, receiving for their maintenance firstfruits of vintage and corn harvest. The writer has some interesting things to say about these Christian prophets and the treatment they are to receive from the Churches which they visit[2]. "Ye shall not try nor discern any prophet speaking in the Spirit, for every sin shall be forgiven, but this sin shall not be forgiven. Howbeit not every one that speaks in the Spirit is a prophet, but only if he have the ways (τρόπους) of the Lord. By his ways then shall the false prophet be known and also the prophet that is a prophet indeed (ὁ προφήτης). And no prophet if he order a table in the Spirit shall eat of it; if he does, he is a false prophet. Moreover every prophet, though he teach the truth, is a false prophet if he does not what he teaches. Yet every prophet approved as a true prophet, if he

[1] *Did.* xiii. 3 αὐτοὶ γάρ εἰσιν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ὑμῶν.

[2] *Did.* xi. 7 ff.

does aught as an outward symbol (*μυστήριον κοσμικόν*) of the Church, but teaches you not to do all that he himself does, shall not be judged by you, for his judgement is with God; for after like manner did also the prophets of old time. But whosoever shall say in the Spirit, 'Give me money' or aught else, ye shall not hearken to him; though if he bids you give for the relief of other men's wants, let none judge him." This singular passage invites comparison with St Paul's instructions in 1 Cor. xiv. On one point the two authorities seem to be opposed[1]; whereas St Paul directs believers to 'discern' the teaching of the prophets, i.e., to discriminate between true teaching and false, the writer of the *Didache* condemns such judgements as unpardonable sin; the gift of 'discerning of spirits,' of which the Apostle speaks as complementary to the gift of prophecy[2], appears to have passed from the Churches to which the *Didache* is addressed, and the only test which remains is that of personal character. The writer points out that opportunities exist for putting a resident prophet to the proof in this way. In the simple communities for which this manual was compiled, the prophet was entrusted with extraordinary powers; he could celebrate the Eucharist in his own words at such length as he pleased[3]; he could order an Agape at his discretion;

[1] *Did.* xi. 7 *οὐ πειράσετε οὐδὲ διακρινεῖτε.* 1 Cor. xiv. 29 *οἱ ἄλλοι διακρινέτωσαν.*

[2] 1 Cor. xii. 10.

[3] *Did.* x. 7 *τοὺς δὲ προφήτας ἐπιτρέπετε εὐχαριστεῖν ὅσα θέλουσιν.*

Part I. i.

after the manner of the old Hebrew prophets he might clothe his teaching in symbolical forms which were not open to criticism; he might collect money and other offerings for needy brethren, apparently without being obliged to render an account of his disposal of the gifts. Such privileges were liable to abuse, and the prophet who misused them was thereby detected as an impostor. The *Didache* dwells at length on the notes of the false prophet, and it is clear that such pretenders were already common. There were prophets who fed themselves and not the poor, who made a trade of their Christianity (*χριστέμποροι*[1]), whose 'ways' were not the ways of the Master: prophets who spoke 'in the Spirit,' possessing the gifts but not the character of the 'man of God.' The situation is anticipated by St Paul; *if I have prophecy...but have not love, I am nothing*[2]. But in St Paul's time the danger came from an excess of enthusiasm, not from hypocritical self-seeking; in the age of the *Didache* corruption has set in, and though the prophets now rank as the chief priests of the Church and take precedence of the local bishops, the charismatic ministry is evidently drawing to its end.

Hermas, *The Shepherd.*

Another document of the period, the *Shepherd* of Hermas, deals more at length with the work of the Spirit in the Church, and especially with the gift of prophecy.

The *Shepherd* comes from the great Roman Church, but it is not, like the Epistle of Clement, an

[1] *Did.* xii. 4. [2] 1 Cor. xiii. 2.

official document. Hermas alone is responsible for the work, and, judging by his own account, he was by no means a representative member of his Church, though his brother Pius was its Bishop[1]. If he represents any number of Roman Christians, they will be the non-official class or, as Clement would have called them, the λαϊκὸν τάγμα, and perhaps only a handful of this class—those of the laity who favoured the primitive discipline which the emergence of the episcopate was beginning to displace[2].

The *Shepherd* is apocalyptic in form, and at the outset of the book Hermas experiences a 'rapture'; he is seized and carried by the Spirit through a pathless wilderness; then the heavens are opened, and the vision begins. The process is repeated a year afterwards[3]. It is still the age of ecstasy and prophecy, and of the prophets of his age Hermas has much to say. With the author of the *Didache*, he is careful to warn his readers against false prophets; but he draws the line of distinction between false and true with a surer hand. "The false prophet, having no power from the Divine Spirit within him, being himself empty gives empty answers to empty souls." "No spirit that is given from God needs to be asked questions: having the

[1] Cf. *fragm. Murator.*: "*pastorem*...Hermas conscripsit, sedente cathedra urbis Romae ecclesiae Pio episcopo fratre eius."

[2] Something of this kind is perhaps suggested by the somewhat grudging recognition accorded to the *Shepherd* in the Muratorian fragment.

[3] *Vis.* i. 1. 3, ii. 1. 1. Cf. Apoc. xvii. 3, xxi. 10.

Part I. i.

power of the Godhead it speaks all things of itself, inasmuch as it is from above, from the power of the Divine Spirit." "Prove the man who has the Divine Spirit by his life. In the first place he who has the Spirit that is from above is quiet and humble-minded, abstaining from all wickedness and the vain desire of this present world. He answers no questions, but speaks when God wills him to speak. Whensoever, then, a man who has the Divine Spirit comes into an assembly (*συναγωγήν*) of righteous men who have faith in a Divine Spirit, and intercession is made to God [by such an assembly], then the Angel of the Spirit of prophecy who is attached to him fills the man, and being thus filled by the Holy Spirit (*τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ*), he speaks to the concourse as the Lord wills." On the other hand the pretender "exalts himself and desires to take the first place in the assembly, and at once gives himself airs, is unblushing and talkative, surrounds himself with luxuries and many other deceits, and takes money for prophesying, or if he cannot get it does not prophesy." The spirit by which such a prophet is inspired is 'earthly' (*ἐπίγειον*); it "will not come near an assembly of righteous men, but shuns them." If a false prophet chances to enter their assembly, "the earthly spirit in its fear flees from him, and the man is dumbfounded and wholly crushed." Thus any man who claims to be 'Spirit-bearing' (*πνευματοφόρος*) is to be proved "by his life and his works." "Trust the Spirit that comes from God and that has power; but place no trust in the earthly, empty,

spirit, for there is no power in it: it comes from the Devil[1]."

This is remarkable testimony to the survival of prophecy in the Roman Church till perhaps the fourth or fifth decade of the second century. One asks oneself, however, whether the "assembly of righteous men," where the Roman prophets appear to have exercised their ministry, was a formal meeting of the Church under the presidency of the Bishop, or a caucus of lay members of the Church who clung to an older form of Church life. But the whole question of the date of the *Shepherd* and its relation to the life and teaching of the early Roman Church is still too obscure to justify anything more than a passing suggestion on this point.

Hermas speaks also of the Holy Spirit as the Teacher and Sanctifier of believers in general. The first teachers of the faith "walked always in righteousness and truth, even as they received the Holy Spirit (*τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον*)[2]." "Love truth, and let all truth proceed from thy mouth, that the Spirit which God made to dwell in this flesh may be found true in the sight of all men; and so the Lord, who dwells in thee, shall be glorified.... Those who lie set at nought the Lord, and rob Him, for they do not return to Him the deposit they received; they received from Him a Spirit that lies not, and if they give it back a lying spirit, they are guilty of robbery[3]." "Keep this flesh of thine pure and

[1] *Mand.* xi. 2 f., 5, 7 ff., 12 ff. Cf. *Oxyrh. Papyri*, I. v.

[2] *Sim.* ix. 25. 2.

[3] *Mand.* iii. 1 f.

Part I. i.

undefiled, that the Spirit which dwells in it may bear witness to it, and thy flesh may be justified.... If thou defile thy flesh, thou shalt defile also the Holy Spirit. The Lord will give thee healing for thy former ignorances, if henceforth thou pollute not thy flesh nor yet the Spirit; for both share alike, and one cannot be defiled without the other[1]." "If thou be longsuffering, the Holy Spirit that dwelleth in thee will be pure, not darkened by the presence of another, a wicked, spirit; but dwelling in a large room, it will exult and be glad with the vessel wherein it dwells, and minister to God with much cheerfulness....But if an angry passion attack thee, the Holy Spirit, being tender, is at once straitened; for it is choked by the wicked spirit, and finds no room to minister to the Lord as it wishes[2]." ..."Sorrow wears out the Holy Spirit and yet saves it....Put sorrow from thee, and distress not the Holy Spirit which dwells in thee, lest it plead with God against thee and depart from thee....Clothe thyself therefore with cheerfulness; the Holy Spirit given to men is a cheerful spirit[3]." The sorrow of repentance must indeed come to those who have sinned, and may avail to "save the Spirit"; but gladness ought to be the normal condition, as being more in harmony with the new wine of the Christian life; wine and vinegar do not mingle well. Once or twice in the above exposition Hermas has adopted a manner of

[1] *Sim.* v. 7. 1 ff. The "former ignorances" are the sins of the old heathen life; cf. 3 ἄγνοια προτέρα πρὶν ἀκουσθῶσι τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα.

[2] *Mand.* v. 1. 2, 3. [3] *Mand.* x. 2. 1, 5; 3. 1, 2.

speaking which is alien from that of the New Testament, where the Holy Spirit of God is said to be grieved by sin or quenched by neglect, but not to be defiled, or to plead with God against the sinner. This writer does not realize, as St Paul and St John realized, the relation of the Spirit either to the life of God or to the human spirit, and seems at times to confuse the indwelling Spirit of God with the higher nature of man which it comes to sanctify.

A like uncertainty is betrayed when Hermas touches upon the relation of the Spirit to the Son of God. Thus, in a well-known passage[1], he writes: "The holy pre-existent Spirit that created the whole creation was made by God to dwell in flesh which He willed it to inhabit[2]. This flesh, in which the Holy Spirit dwelt, served the Spirit well, walking in dignity and purity, and never defiling the Spirit in any way. Having then lived well and purely, and having laboured with the Spirit and worked with it in everything...it was chosen by God as a partner with the Holy Spirit....So He took counsel with the Son and the glorious angels that this flesh also, since it had served the Spirit blamelessly, might have a place of rest and not appear to lose the reward due to its service; for all flesh shall receive a reward, that has been found undefiled and without spot, and in which the Holy Spirit dwelt." This is not the time to discuss the

[1] *Sim.* v. 6. 5 ff.

[2] *τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τὸ προόν, τὸ κτίσαν πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν, κατῴκισεν ὁ θεὸς εἰς σάρκα ἣν ἐβούλετο.*

Part I. i.

Christology of Hermas. But what are we to make of the place which he here assigns to the Holy Spirit? Is he thinking of the Spirit of the Conception and the Baptism? Or is the Spirit in this passage to be identified with the Son—the pre-existent Divine nature of Christ? Elsewhere in the *Similitudes* the identification is certainly made[1], and it seems not improbable that it was before the mind of Hermas in the present context; nor in this confusion of thought does he stand alone among the Church writers of his time, as we shall presently see.

If we may venture to put into our own words the thought of Hermas about the Son and Spirit of God, it will take some such form as this. Human nature is the battlefield of contending principles, impulses, and passions of which some make for good and some for evil. There are 'holy spirits[2],' such as faith, purity, truth, love; and there are 'evil spirits,' such as unbelief, intemperance, deceit, hatred. Collectively the good spirits may be called the Spirit of God, or the Holy Spirit, for they are powers which proceed from the Son of God, the preexistent Spirit which created the world, and dwelt in the sinless humanity of Jesus Christ, which has been rewarded by an eternal union with itself. In this reward believers will after their measure participate, if they return to God who gave it the indwelling Spirit

[1] *Sim.* v. 5. 2 ὁ δὲ υἱὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιόν ἐστιν. ix. 1. 1 ἐκεῖνο γὰρ τὸ πνεῦμα ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστιν. The words in v. 5. 2 are omitted by some authorities.

[2] *Sim.* ix. 13. 2 ἅγια πνεύματα.

unspotted by the sins of the flesh. It would be a mistake to regard these speculations as an attempt to formulate a doctrine of the Holy Spirit; rather, they are the feelings after truth of a lay member of the early Church who desires to correlate the facts of life with the articles of the primitive creed. Probably it was something of this kind that the Roman creed, just coming into use in the days of Pius and his brother Hermas, seemed to the lay members of the Church to teach, when it professed belief "in Christ Jesus...who was born of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary...and in the Holy Spirit" and "the Holy Church[1]."

There are points of resemblance between the *Shepherd* of Hermas and the contemporary homily, probably of Corinthian origin, which has come down to us under the name of the Second Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians. The homilist, like Hermas, (1) thinks of the pre-existent Son as 'Spirit,' and (2) draws a parallel between the reward received by the incarnate Son and that which awaits the faithful. "If Christ the Lord who saved us was at the first spirit (ὢν μὲν τὸ πρῶτον πνεῦμα), but was made flesh, and in that condition called us, we too in like manner shall receive our reward in this flesh[2]." "The Church was spiritual, as our Jesus also was; yet He was manifested in the last days to save us. So the Church,

Pseudo-Clement, *2 Corinthians.*

[1] Cf. Hahn-Harnack, *Biblioth. d. Symb.* p. 24 f. credo in... Christum Iesum qui natus est de spiritu sancto et Maria virgine... et in spiritum sanctum, sanctam ecclesiam....

[2] *2 Cor.* ix. 5.

Part I. i.

though spiritual, was manifested in the flesh of Christ, shewing us that if any of us keep her in the flesh and corrupt her not, he shall receive her in the Holy Spirit. For this flesh of ours is the copy (ἀντίτυπος) of the Spirit; no one, therefore, after he has corrupted the copy shall receive the original (τὸ αὐθεντικόν). So then this is what He says: 'Keep the flesh that ye may partake of the Spirit.' If we say that the flesh is the Church and the Spirit is Christ, then he who maltreats the flesh maltreats the Church, and such a man shall not partake of the Spirit, which is Christ—so great is the life and immortality of which this flesh can partake if the Holy Spirit is joined to it (κολληθεντος[1])[2]." It is not easy to follow this preacher; his metaphors are mixed, and his thought is at times inconsequent. But the idea seems to be something of this kind. Both the Logos and the Church are in their nature spiritual, but both have been revealed in the flesh, the external visible life of man. Spirit and Flesh are counterparts, related as the original and the copy; he who destroys the copy can have no claim to the original; he who keeps the flesh pure will have his part in the Divine Christ who is Spirit, and will share His immortal life.

If the surviving literature of the sub-apostolic period is scanty, yet it is representative of many churches and many sides of primitive Christian life and thought. It includes a letter written in the name

[1] Cf. 1 Cor. vi. 17 ὁ δὲ κολλώμενος τῷ κυρίῳ ἓν πνεῦμά ἐστιν.

[2] *2 Cor.* xiv. 2—5. Cf. Herm. *Sim.* v. 5. 6.

of the Church of the Imperial city; letters written in his own name by a Syrian bishop on his way to martyrdom; a manual of Church order which comes from a remote corner of the Empire; a study of Old Testament typology which breathes the spirit of Alexandria; an allegory by a Roman layman; a homily preached, as it seems, by a Corinthian presbyter. The witness of these documents comes from widely different regions, and reflects various aspects of the common faith. So far as regards the doctrine of the Holy Spirit this witness falls far short of the wealth of teaching which we find in St Paul and St John; neither in fulness nor in precision does it reach the standard which we might have expected from the immediate successors of the Apostolic age. Yet every one of these writings has something to say upon the subject, and says it freshly and independently, not in stereotyped language borrowed from the first age, but in words which express the consciousness of the living Church. There was as yet no formal theology of the Spirit and no effort to create it; nor was there any conscious heresy. But the presence of the Spirit in the Body of Christ was recognized on all hands as an acknowledged fact of the Christian life; while each writer dealt with the fact as it presented itself to his own experience or the experience of the local church in which he lived.

II.

THE GREEK APOLOGISTS.

The Greek Apologists. Quadratus.

THE Apologists begin before the end of the sub-apostolic age. In the year 125–6 the Emperor Hadrian visited Athens, and the happy idea presented itself to Quadratus the Athenian of offering the Emperor a written defence of the Christian faith. This earliest apology was the work of a survivor from the Apostolic age, a Prophet and perhaps a Bishop[1]; and the one sentence which remains[2] leads us to regret keenly the loss of a work which would have given us the experience of an inspired teacher of the second century.

Eusebius adds that another apology was addressed to Hadrian by Aristides, who according to the title of the work was a Christian philosopher. This work, which was extant in the fourth century, has in our own time been recovered by Dean Armitage Robinson, who has shewn that it was probably presented by its author not to Hadrian but to Antoninus Pius, who succeeded Hadrian in 138[3].

[1] Eus. *H. E.* iii. 37, iv. 3. 23, v. 1, 7; *Chron.* 5 *a.* 124. See *Texts and Studies*, i. 1, p. 13; Harnack, *Chron.* i. p. 271.

[2] Eus. *H. E.* iv. 3.

[3] *Texts and Studies*, i. 2, p. 6 ff.

Part I. ii. Aristides.

The Holy Spirit is mentioned but once in the Apology of Aristides. "The Christians," he writes, "trace their pedigree from the Lord Jesus Christ. Now He is the Son of God most High, and is con-ssed by us as having come down from heaven in ıe Holy Spirit for the salvation of men; and He as born of a holy virgin and took flesh and was ıanifested to men[1]." But the expression "in the Holy Spirit" leaves us in some doubt whether Aristides intends to represent the Holy Spirit as the Agent of the Conception (for which the usual expression is *ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου*), or whether he identifies the Son with the Spirit after the manner of his time. We shall find the latter position taken up by his successor Justin a few years later on.

Justin Martyr, *The Dialogue; the Apologies.*

Justin, like Aristides, belongs to the reign of Antoninus Pius, but to a somewhat later date in hat reign; his first Apology may be placed early n the sixth decade of the second century. Like Aristides, too, Justin was a philosopher, and he followed his profession after he became a Christian, continuing to wear the philosopher's garb. He had studied philosophy under Stoic, Peripatetic, and Platonist teachers in succession before he was led y a conversation with a stranger to consider the

[1] Aristid. *apol.* 15 *ὁμολογεῖται ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ καταβὰς διὰ τὴν σωτηρίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων· καὶ ἐκ παρθένου ἁγίας γεννηθεὶς...σάρκα ἀνέλαβεν καὶ ἀνεφάνη ἀνθρώποις.* The Armenian version (v) gives a different turn to the passage; the Syriac (vi—vii) omits the reference to the Holy Spirit (*Texts and Studies*, I. 1, pp. 32, 36).

Part I. ii.

claims of Christ. The conversation is given by himself at length in the opening chapters[1] of his *Dialogue with Trypho*, and it is of no little interest to notice the emphasis laid by the unknown interlocutor upon the work of the Holy Spirit. When Justin quotes Plato to the effect that God can be apprehended only by the mind, the Christian replies, "Is there then in our minds a power such as this and so great? Will the human intellect ever see God unless it is furnished with the Holy Spirit[2]?" And when further on Justin enquires after a master who can teach truth, he is referred to the Hebrew prophets who "spoke by the Holy Spirit only the things which they heard and saw when they were filled with the Spirit." As they parted from each other the stranger said, "Pray before all things that gates of light may be opened to you; for these matters are not to be perceived nor comprehended by any, unless God and His Christ give power to understand." Words such as these, spoken at a great crisis in life, are not easily forgotten, and this unknown teacher's insistence on the work of the Spirit finds an echo in Justin's own teaching. Thus he speaks of the effects of Baptism as follows[3]: "Our

[1] *Tryph.* 1—7.

[2] *Tryph.* 4 ἢ τὸν θεὸν ἀνθρώπων νοῦς ὄψεταί ποτε, μὴ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι κεκοσμημένος; *Tryph.* 7 μόνα ταῦτα εἰπόντες ἃ ἤκουσαν καὶ εἶδον ἁγίῳ πληρωθέντες πνεύματι. *Ibid.* εὔχου δέ σοι πρὸ πάντων φωτὸς ἀνοιχθῆναι πύλας· οὐ γὰρ συνοπτὰ οὐδὲ συννοητὰ πᾶσιν, εἰ μή τῳ θεὸς δῷ συνιέναι καὶ ὁ χριστὸς αὐτοῦ.

[3] *Apol.* i. 61.

converts are brought by us to a place where there is water and born again by a kind of second birth that we ourselves experienced[1]...and this bath is called 'Illumination,' since those who learn these things have the mind illuminated[2]." And elsewhere[3]: "Day by day some are being made disciples in the name of His Christ, and leave the way of error; and such persons receive, each one of them, gifts, according to their meetness, being illuminated through the name of this same Christ; for one receives the Spirit of understanding, and another the Spirit of counsel or strength or healing or foresight or teaching or of the fear of God." In the case of those converts who were daily being added to the Church, as in his own experience, the words of Justin's early instructor proved themselves true. "Gates of light" were opened in the Sacrament of New Birth to all who took Christ for their Master, and evidence of the fact could be produced to enquirers whether heathen or Jews.

Writing in his first Apology as a philosopher to philosophers[4], Justin is bound to give some account of the relation of the Son and the Spirit to God in the Christian theology. He is the first Christian writer who has attempted this; and it ought not to

[1] *τρόπον ἀναγεννήσεως ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀνεγεννήθημεν ἀναγεννῶνται.*

[2] *καλεῖται δὲ τοῦτο τὸ λουτρὸν Φωτισμός, ὡς φωτιζομένων τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν ταῦτα μανθανόντων.*

[3] *Tryph.* 39.

[4] *Apol.* i. 1 *αὐτοκράτορι...Ἀντωνίνῳ Εὐσεβεῖ...καὶ Οὐηρισσίμῳ υἱῷ φιλοσόφῳ καὶ Λουκίῳ φιλοσόφῳ.*

Part I. ii.

surprise us if he does not altogether succeed. The attempt is made in connexion with his answer to the charge of Atheism brought against Christians. "We confess," he says, "that we are 'atheists,' if that means that we reject the so-called gods of paganism. But [atheists we are] not in regard to the most true God, the Father of righteousness and temperance and the other virtues, who cannot be associated with vice; nay, we adore and worship Him, and with Him the Son who came from Him and taught us these things, and the host of the other good angels who follow Him and are made like Him, and the Spirit of prophecy, honouring them in word and in truth[1]." "Who in his senses will not admit that we are no atheists who worship the Maker of this universe?...Rather we will demonstrate that we have reason to honour Jesus Christ who was our Teacher in these matters and was born for this end, whom we have learned to be the Son of the living God and to whom we give the second place, assigning a third rank to the Spirit of prophecy[2]." This principle of gradation in the Divine life is supported by a quotation from the *Timaeus*[3], where he thinks that he can find a reference to the Word and the Spirit of God—due, as he argues, to a study by Plato of the creation-story

[1] *Apol.* i. 6 τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ υἱὸν ἐλθόντα...καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἑπομένων καὶ ἐξομοιουμένων ἀγαθῶν ἀγγέλων στρατὸν πνεῦμά τε προφητικὸν σεβόμεθα καὶ προσκυνοῦμεν.

[2] *Apol.* i. 13 Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν...ἐν δευτέρᾳ χώρᾳ ἔχοντες, πνεῦμά τε προφητικὸν ἐν τρίτῃ τάξει.

[3] Plat. *Tim.* 36 B, C; cf. *Apol.* i. 60.

in Genesis. There can be no doubt that Justin, in his zeal to represent Christianity as in accord with the best philosophy, has here subordinated the Son to the Father and the Spirit to the Son in a manner which the great Catholic teachers of the fourth and fifth centuries would have deprecated. Yet the inferiority which he ascribes to the Second and Third Persons is one of place and rank only (*χώρα, τάξις*), not of essence or nature (*οὐσία, φύσις*), so that he is not a forerunner of Arius, Macedonius, or Eunomius. It is more startling to find him (i. 6) apparently coordinating the angelic host with the Son and the Spirit. But the angels find a place in this context as the bodyguard of the Son, reflecting His likeness (*ἑπομένων, ἐξομοιουμένων*), and it is in this capacity that they precede the Holy Spirit in Justin's enumeration. He cannot have intended to subordinate the Holy Spirit to angels, since in the same treatise he assigns to the Spirit the next rank after the Son. Nevertheless it must be granted that in his eagerness to shew that the Christians were not atheists Justin laid them open to the charge of polytheism and angelolatry[1]. Nor could he have permitted himself to write in so loose a way had he fully realized, as the Church afterwards realized, the relation in which the Son and the Spirit stand to the Father in the life of God[2].

[1] A practice limited to a few obscure churches: cf. Col. ii. 18; Lightfoot, *Colossians*, Introduction *passim*.

[2] The reader may refer to Harnack, *History of Dogma*, E. T. ii. p. 209.

Part I. ii.

Of the Holy Spirit of the Conception Justin seems to have thought as Aristides did. "The Spirit and the Power which is from God," he writes[1], referring to Luke i. 35, "must not be thought to be aught else but the Logos, who is God's First-begotten;... and this [Spirit], when it came upon the Virgin and overshadowed her, made her pregnant...by an act of power." In other words Justin identifies the Spirit who descended on Mary with the Logos; as he views the Holy Conception, the Logos Himself was the Agent of His own incarnation[2]. It may be asked how this identification can be reconciled with the equally clear differentiation between the Logos and the Spirit which has been already noticed. The answer seems to be that Justin, in common with other Church writers of his age, was still struggling with the problems of his faith. He saw that the unincarnate Logos was pure spirit, as the Holy Spirit is; and while he usually distinguishes the Spirit of prophecy from the Logos[3], he fails to draw this distinction in reference to the Conception. But he has got beyond the position of Hermas, who seems scarcely to have recognized the existence of a Third Person in God. Justin's difficulty lay in differentiating the functions of the Second and Third

[1] *Apol.* i. 33 τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐδὲν ἄλλο νοῆσαι θέμις ἢ τὸν λόγον. Cf. 32 ἡ δὲ πρώτη δύναμις μετὰ τὸν πατέρα...καὶ υἱὸς ὁ λόγος ἐστίν.

[2] See Mr Edmund Bishop's remarks in *Texts and Studies*, VIII. 1, p. 160 ff.

[3] Even the πνεῦμα προφητικόν seems to be occasionally identified with the Logos; cf. *Apol.* i. 33 (end), 35 f., ii. 10.

Persons; of their personal distinctness he was clearly cognizant[1].

Tatian, *Admonition to the Greeks.*

Tatian, although a pupil of Justin, approached the work of a Christian apologist in a different spirit. A native of Assyria, he was nevertheless by education a Hellenist, but Greek rhetoric had more attraction for him than Greek philosophy; with the thought and life of Hellas he had little sympathy, and his *Admonition to the Greeks* is a violent invective against both; even Plato is not spared. Yet Tatian has learned much from the Greeks whether through Justin or by his own study, and with this preparatory culture he combines an independence of thought which is nowhere more remarkable than in his treatment of the doctrine of the Spirit. A few extracts will make this clear. "The soul," he writes[2], "is not immortal in itself, but it can nevertheless attain to immortality.... If it lives alone, it has a downward inclination towards the material, and dies with the flesh; but if it acquires union with the Divine Spirit, it is not left without succour, but mounts up to regions whither the Spirit leads it[3]....

[1] The *Cohortatio ad Graecos*, a work attributed to Justin and perhaps belonging to the second century, speaks of the One Spirit as parted into seven, like Virtue, which the philosophers divide into four cardinal virtues: *c.* 32 ὥσπερ οἱ ἱεροὶ προφῆται τὸ ἓν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα εἰς ἑπτὰ πνεύματα μερίζεσθαι φασίν, οὕτως καὶ αὐτὸς (i.e. ὁ Πλάτων) μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ὀνομάζων ἀρετήν, ταύτην εἰς τέσσαρας ἀρετὰς μερίζεσθαι λέγει. Cf. Plat. *Legg.* xii. p. 963 A, 964 A; *Phaedo*, p. 69 B.

[2] *Or. adv. Graecos* 13.

[3] συζυγίαν δὲ κεκτημένη τὴν τοῦ θείου πνεύματος οὐκ ἔστιν ἀβοήθητος· ἀνέρχεται δὲ πρὸς ἅπερ αὐτὴν ὁδηγεῖ χωρία τὸ πνεῦμα.

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The Spirit of God is not with all men, but with such as live righteously it dwells and interweaves itself with the soul...and souls that obey wisdom attract to themselves a kindred spirit[1], whereas souls that do not obey, and refuse the minister of the God who suffered[2], shew themselves to be enemies rather than worshippers of God....He who is armed with the breastplate of the heavenly Spirit will be able to save all that it encircles[3]....The world still attracts us, and in my weakness I seek after the material. For the perfect Spirit is as wings to the soul, but the soul because of its sin casts off the Spirit, and if it attempts to fly, like a nestling, it falls to the ground, and losing its heavenly associations, covets intercourse with things of less worth[4]."

Whether Tatian's apology was written before his secession from the Church (A.D. 172, Harnack) is uncertain, but its teaching on the Spirit is undoubtedly much off the track of contemporary Christian opinion[5]. His general position is as follows. There are two kinds of spirits known to us; one is called the soul; the other, a greater, is the image and likeness of God in man. The soul becomes immortal through union with the Divine Spirit; separated

[1] σφίσιν αὐταῖς ἐφείλκοντο πνεῦμα συγγενές.

[2] τὸν διάκονον τοῦ πεπονθότος θεοῦ.

[3] *Or. adv. Graecos* 16.

[4] *Or. adv. Graecos* 20.

[5] E. Schwartz, who has edited the text in *Texte u. Untersuchungen* (iv. 1), finds several points of agreement between Tatian and Theodotus. See his index, p. 93 f., and cf. the next chapter of this book.

from the Spirit, it suffers deterioration and dies. The Spirit takes up its abode where it finds a kindred nature which attracts it; such souls are lifted up by it to heavenly things, whilst others grovel on the earth. In reference to the relation of the Spirit to God Tatian speaks of the Spirit as God's 'ambassador[1]' or 'deputy' in the soul of man, and as the 'minister' of the incarnate and crucified Word. Both phrases imply subordination, not however so much a subordination of the Person of the Spirit as of His functions in the economy of grace. But this Apologist's interest in the question is almost purely ethical; he makes no effort to grapple with the metaphysical problems of the Spirit's person or work, and perhaps is scarcely conscious that such problems exist.

Athenagoras, *Plea for Christians.*

The "Plea for Christians[2]" of Athenagoras, like the Apologies of Quadratus and Aristides and the first Apology of Justin, was addressed to the Emperors, and the heading, "To the Emperors Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and Lucius Aurelius Commodus," fixes the date within a few years, for L. Commodus was saluted as Imperator in 176, and M. Aurelius died in 180. Athenagoras, herein again like Justin, writes to M. Aurelius as to a brother philosopher[3]. But he is before all things

[1] *Or. adv. Graecos* 15 κατοικεῖν ἐν αὐτῷ βούλεται ὁ θεὸς διὰ τοῦ πρεσβεύοντος πνεύματος.

[2] Πρεσβεία περὶ Χριστιανῶν (*legatio pro Christianis*).

[3] After recounting the other titles of the Emperors, Athenagoras adds, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον φιλοσόφοις.

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a Christian, and with Justin's devotion to Plato he combines a truer appreciation of Christian doctrine. In the *Plea* a serious attempt is made for the first time to give something like a philosophy of the trinitarian belief of the Church. Athenagoras begins, as other apologists had done, by repudiating the charge of atheism. "If Plato is not an atheist, neither are we atheists, for we recognize and stedfastly believe in a God who made all things by His Word and holds them together by the Spirit that comes from Him (*τῷ παρ' αὐτοῦ πνεύματι*)[1]." "Let no one count it absurd (he proceeds[2]) that God should have a Son....The Son is the Word of God the Father, both in thought (*ἰδέᾳ*), and also in working; from Him (*πρὸς αὐτοῦ*) and through Him all things had their beginning, the Father and the Son being one. The Son is in the Father and the Father in the Son by the unity and power of the Spirit (*ἑνότητι καὶ δυνάμει πνεύματος*); whence the Son of God is the Father's Mind and Word. Moreover, the Holy Spirit that works in those that deliver prophetic utterances we affirm to be an effluence of God, flowing forth and returning to Him like a ray of the sun[3]. Who then can fail to be perplexed when he hears the name of atheists given to men who hold the Father to be God and the Son God, and the

[1] Athenag. *leg.* 6.

[2] *Leg.* 10.

[3] *Ib.* *καίτοι καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἐνεργοῦν τοῖς ἐκφωνοῦσι προφητικῶς ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἀπόρροιαν εἶναί φαμεν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀπορρέον καὶ ἐπαναφερόμενον ὡς ἀκτῖνα ἡλίου.*

Holy Spirit, pointing out the power that lies in their unity, and the distinction in their order[1]? And our theology does not stop even here, for we say also that there is a multitude of angels and ministers[2] assigned and allotted [to various spheres of duty] by the Maker of the world through the Word that comes from Him[3]." "We affirm that God and His Word or Son and the Holy Spirit are one in power...the Son the Mind, Word, Wisdom of the Father, and the Spirit an effluence from Him as light from fire[4]." "The one ambition that urges us Christians on[5] is the desire to know the true God and the Word that is from Him—what is the unity of the Son with the Father, what the fellowship of the Father with the Son, what is the Spirit; what is the unity of these mighty Powers, and the distinction that exists between them, united as they are —the Spirit, the Son, the Father[6]."

The reader will be struck by three things which these extracts make abundantly clear. First he will take note of the almost passionate desire of this early Christian philosopher to investigate the contents of

[1] λέγοντας θεὸν πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν θεόν, καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον, δεικνύντας αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ ἑνώσει δύναμιν καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ τάξει διαίρεσιν. On τάξει see p. 27.

[2] Athenagoras seems to have in mind Justin's reference to the Angels (*Apol.* i. 6), and desires to set it right; see p. 36 f.

[3] *Leg.* 10.

[4] *Leg.* 24 ἀπόρροια ὡς φῶς ἀπὸ πυρὸς τὸ πνεῦμα.

[5] ὑπὸ μόνου παραπεμπόμενοι τοῦ...εἰδέναι κτλ.

[6] *Leg.* 12 τί τὸ πνεῦμα, τίς ἡ τῶν τοσούτων ἕνωσις καὶ διαίρεσις ἑνουμένων, τοῦ πνεύματος, τοῦ παιδός, τοῦ πατρός.

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his faith, not as a matter of curiosity, but because the study seemed to him to offer the only worthy satisfaction of the Christian intellect. Nothing else in life appeared to him worth living for. Secondly, the student will mark the predominating interest with which he regards the doctrine of God and the problems presented by the relation of the Son to the Father and the Spirit to the Father and the Son. Thirdly, it is impossible not to observe how near Athenagoras comes to the Catholic dogma of the Holy Trinity as it was ultimately defined. He anticipates to a remarkable degree the answer which the Church in the next century returned to those who insisted on the 'monarchy' of God; he sees that plurality of Persons in God is not inconsistent with the idea of 'monarchy,' but complementary to it. There is unity (ἕνωσις) in the Divine life, and there is also diversity (διαίρεσις). The unity consists in the possession of the same Divine power (κατὰ δύναμιν); the diversity in a distinction of rank (κατὰ τάξιν) or order. Of 'essence' or 'person' we hear nothing as yet, but a doctrine not very different from the later *circumincessio* seems to come into sight, when we are told that the Father is in the Son, and the Son in the Father, "by unity and power of spirit." It will be realized that this is a great advance upon all that we have found so far in post-canonical writings, and a remarkable result to have been reached before the year 180.

Athenagoras accepted and even exaggerated the doctrine of mechanical inspiration. He holds that the

Holy Spirit breathed into the Prophets of the Old Testament as a flute-player breathes into his instrument, making it vocal and tuneful[1]. On the other hand he does not seem to realize the work of the Spirit upon the members of the living Church, either in Christian prophecy, or in the inspiration of thought and life. His interest in the subject is intellectual rather than practical; he is a Christian thinker, holding the first place in the great succession of teachers through whom the Church reached the foundation of her trinitarian faith. His contribution to the doctrine of the Spirit is of this kind only, but in its own way it is the most important we have met with hitherto.

Theophilus of Antioch, *To Autolycus.*

One other extant apology of the second century remains to be considered. It is addressed to Autolycus, a pagan seeker after truth, by Theophilus, who according to Eusebius was sixth Bishop of Antioch[2]. From the book itself we learn that the writer lived in the reign of Commodus (180—192), and in the East; and that he was brought to the faith as an adult by the study of the Hebrew prophets[3]. Like Tatian, who also was from the East, Theophilus was a Hellenist, and he writes fairly good Greek; but his work lacks the originality of Tatian, and he has little of the culture and thought of Athenagoras.

[1] *Leg.* 7 ὡς ὄργανα κεκινηκότι τὰ τῶν προφητῶν στόματα. *Ibid.* 9 ὥσεὶ καὶ αὐλητὴς αὐλὸν ἐμπνεῦσαι.

[2] *H. E.* iv. 24. Eusebius, however, places the death of Theophilus the Bishop before the accession of Commodus. Cf. Harnack, *Chron.* i. p. 319.

[3] *Ad Autol.* i. 14, ii. 24, iii. 27.

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Theophilus mentions the Holy Spirit by name only in connexion with Creation and Inspiration. The creative Spirit is identified with the Divine Wisdom, and distinguished from the Logos; "through His Word and His Wisdom God made all things," as we are taught in Ps. xxxiii. 6[1]. The Spirit of God which moved on the face of the waters is the vital and vitalizing Power[2] which is immanent in the creation and answers to the soul in man; "the whole creation is embraced by the Spirit of God, and the Spirit that embraces it is itself together with the creation embraced by the Hand of God[3]." In common with the Word, the Wisdom or Spirit of God issued from God before the world was made. "God, then, having His own Word within Himself in His own heart, begat Him, causing Him to go forth before the universe in company with His own Wisdom[4]." In the next sentence indeed the Word is identified with the Spirit, and even with the Spirit of prophecy: "the Word, being Spirit of God, the principality and wisdom and power of the Most High, came down on the Prophets." But as we read on, the distinction reappears: "the prophets were not in existence when

[1] *Ad Autol.* i. 7; cf. ii. 18.

[2] *Ad Autol.* ii. 13 πνεῦμα τὸ ἐπιφερόμενον ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος, ὃ ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς εἰς ζωογόνησιν τῇ κτίσει καθάπερ ἀνθρώπῳ ψυχήν.

[3] *Ad Autol.* i. 5 ἡ πᾶσα κτίσις περιέχεται ὑπὸ πνεύματος θεοῦ, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ περιέχον σὺν τῇ κτίσει περιέχεται ὑπὸ χειρὸς θεοῦ.

[4] *Ad Autol.* ii. 10 ἔχων οὖν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λόγον ἐνδιάθετον ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις σπλάγχνοις ἐγέννησεν αὐτὸν μετὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σοφίας ἐξερευσάμενος πρὸ τῶν ὅλων.

the world was made, but the Wisdom of God, which is in Him, and His holy Word, who is always present with Him, were there." In one passage the Word and Wisdom of God are represented as forming together with God a triad, to which, as Theophilus fancies, the first three days of the creation-week corresponded; and this, it has often been noticed, is the first occasion on which the word 'trinity' (τριάς) is used in Christian literature with reference to God[1]. But Theophilus adds: "the fourth day finds its antitype in Man, who is in need of light; so we get the series, God, the Word, Wisdom, Man." But a Christian author who could convert the τριάς into a τετρακτύς, the Divine trinity into a quaternion in which Man is the fourth term, must have been still far from thinking of the Trinity as later writers thought. Nor is it clear that Theophilus realized the distinction of the Persons as it was realized by Athenagoras. Once, when arguing with a pagan, he seems to be himself prepared to regard the terms Word, Wisdom, Spirit, and other Divine names as representing merely certain attributes or functions of Deity. "If I call Him 'Word' (he writes[2]) I speak of Him as origin (ἀρχήν); if 'Spirit,' of His breath; if 'Wisdom,' of His offspring...if 'Power,' of His working[2]."

Of the work of the Spirit of prophecy Theophilus,

[1] *Ad Autol.* ii. 15 αἱ τρεῖς ἡμέραι πρὸ τῶν φωστήρων γεγονυῖαι τύποι εἰσὶν τῆς τριάδος, τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ λόγου αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς σοφίας αὐτοῦ.

[2] *Ad Autol.* i. 3.

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like the other Christian writers of his age, speaks with entire conviction[1]. The fulfilment of the Old Testament prophecies proves that the prophets foretold the future by the light of the Holy Spirit; that they were, to use a word which this author twice applies to them, "Spirit-bearing" (πνευματοφόροι)—a qualification which Theophilus, living after the formation of the Gospel-canon, believes the Evangelists to have shared with them[2]. He has no reference to the work of the Spirit in the Church, beyond the casual statement that Christians are guided by the holy Word and taught by Wisdom[3]. But it may have seemed to him inexpedient to be more explicit on this subject in a book addressed to a heathen.

Other Apologists.

The apologists who have come under our notice were by no means the only representatives of their class during the second century. But the apologies of Miltiades, Melito, Apollinaris, and others have perished, or if fragments of their works survive, these contain nothing to our purpose. The letter to Diognetus (i.—x.) remains, but it limits itself to the Incarnation and Atonement; while Hermias is so fully occupied with making merry over the follies of Greek philosophy that he has no time to spare for Christian doctrine.

Those of the Apologists who were philosophers found it easier to develope the doctrine of the Logos

[1] *Ad Autol.* i. 14.

[2] *Ibid.* ii. 9, 22; cf. iii. 12.

[3] *Ibid.* iii. 15 λόγος ἅγιος ὁδηγεῖ, σοφία διδάσκει.

than that of the Holy Spirit. But the attempt was made, especially by Justin and Athenagoras, to find a place for the Spirit in the theology of the Church; and it was not altogether without success. There was still a disposition to confuse the use of 'Spirit' to express the pre-existent nature of Christ with its use as the name of the Third Person in God. There was also, but not in all, a tendency to subordinate unduly the Second Person to the First and the Third to both. In one place Justin has placed the ministering spirits between the Word and the Spirit of God. But elsewhere he expressly reserves the third place for the Holy Spirit, and his slip has been tacitly corrected by Athenagoras, though even the latter includes created spirits in his *θεολογία*. Tatian speaks of the Spirit as 'minister' of the incarnate Son, but Tatian is not to be taken as representing the main current of Christian tradition. Immature as the doctrinal language of the Church still was, no apologetic writer of the second century spoke of the Spirit of God as one of the creatures; while Athenagoras, at least, anticipated with remarkable nearness some of the conclusions to which experience and reflexion brought the best teachers of a later age.

III.

THE GNOSTIC SECTS.

Part I. iii.

The Gnostics.

WHILE the Apologists of the second century were labouring to express the Christian faith in terms intelligible to Greek minds, another succession of teachers sought to accommodate the facts of the creed to speculations which were largely of Oriental origin. Gnosticism was chiefly attracted by the redemption of Christ, and some of its sects, so far as we are acquainted with their teaching, found no place for the person or work of the Holy Spirit. But where Christ had entered, the Spirit of Christ could not be altogether ignored, and most of the Gnostic systems which are known to us recognize both the second and the third Persons of the Christian Trinity.

Simon Magus.

Simon Magus, if not, as Irenaeus calls him, the father of Gnostic heresy[1], certainly fills a great place in the romance of early Gnosticism, and one which is perhaps not wholly legendary. The man whose early successes were checked by the arrival at Samaria of Peter and John with spiritual gifts which he could not claim to bestow, may well have sought to work into his system such knowledge as he possessed

[1] Iren. *haer.* i. 23. 2; ii. *praef.*; iii. *praef.* (ed. Stieren; the chapters are those of Massuet).

of the Christian doctrine of the Spirit. Leaving Samaria, he is said to have presented himself to Gentile lands as the Holy Spirit[1]; or to have given this name to Helena[2], a woman of bad character who accompanied him and for whose redemption he professed to have come down from heaven. The story is told with many variations, and concerns us only so far as it seems to indicate some imperfect knowledge of the Christian doctrine of the Spirit. The Simonian books[3], whatever their origin, contain confused references to the Christian Trinity. Thus the "Great Announcement," which Hippolytus quotes as the work of Simon, speaks of God as "a Power at once male and female, from whom came forth His solitary Thought, which became two[4]"; and Jerome from some similar writing cites as the words of Simon, "I am the Word of God, I am the Paraclete, I am the Almighty, I am all that is God's[5]."

The Ophites.

The Holy Spirit appears also in more than one form of Ophitic Gnosticism. One sect which, according to Irenaeus[6], gave the name of the 'First Man' to the Father of All, and that of 'Son of

[1] Iren. i. 23. 1, Hippol. *phil.* vi. 19.

[2] Epiph. *haer.* xxi. 2.

[3] On these see Harnack, *Geschichte der altchr. Litteratur.* i. p. 153 ff.

[4] Hippol. *phil.* vi. 18 ἀρσενόθηλυς δύναμις...προελθοῦσα ἡ ἐν μονότητι ἐπίνοια ἐγένετο δύο.

[5] *Comm. in Matt.* xxiv. 5 haec quoque inter cetera in suis voluminibus scripta dimittens, Ego sum Verbum Dei...ego Paracletus, ego Omnipotens, ego omnia Dei.

[6] Iren. *haer.* i. 30. 1.

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Man' or 'Second Man' to his Thought, called the Holy Spirit the 'First Woman'; and taught that Christ was the fruit of her union with the First and Second Man. A remarkable comment on John iv. 24 is quoted by Hippolytus from a Naassene source[1]: "The Spirit is where the Father is, and is also called the Son, seeing He is begotten of the Father. He is the Being of many names, countless eyes, and incomprehensible personality, for whom every nature, each after its own manner, craves." But the Spirit is here apparently identified with the Son, and is not a third relation in the Divine life.

Basilides and the Basilidians.

Basilides, as his system is described by Hippolytus[2], makes some attempt to express both the office of the Holy Spirit and His relation to the Son, and this effort is the more remarkable when it is remembered that his activity belongs to the reign of Hadrian. Dr Hort[3] has made it probable that Hippolytus used the *Exegetica*, 24 books on the Gospels written by Basilides himself[4]; and certainly the extracts which Hippolytus gives are not unworthy of the great Egyptian Gnostic. The writer starts with a cosmogony of which the following is a sketch. The world began with nothingness; there was in existence as yet neither matter nor essential

[1] Hippol. *phil.* v. 9 τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ἐκεῖ ὅπου καὶ ὁ πατήρ· ὀνομάζεται καὶ ὁ υἱός, ἐκ τούτου τοῦ πατρὸς γεννώμενος. οὗτος, φησίν, ἐστὶν ὁ πολυώνυμος μυριόμματος ἀκατάληπτος, οὗ πᾶσα φύσις, ἄλλη δὲ ἄλλως, ὀρέγεται.

[2] Hippol. *phil.* v. 21 ff.

[3] In *D. C. B.* i. p. 269 ff.

[4] See Clem. Alex. *strom.* iv. § 83 ff. and Eus. *H. E.* iv. 7.

life. A non-existent Deity made from non-existent things a non-existent world[1]—a mere germ of that which was to be. In this germinal world there resided a threefold sonship, which was wholly consubstantial (ὁμοούσιος)[2] with the non-existent God, being the product of non-existent things. Part of this sonship was subtle, part of coarser grain, and the subtle at once mounted up to God, while the coarser remained in the germ till it procured wings to bear it aloft. As Plato in the *Phaedrus* gives wings to the soul, so did Basilides to his less subtle sonship; but he called the uplifting force not 'wing' but 'Holy Spirit.' Both the sonship and the wing were gainers by the uplifting process, as the wing cannot rise without the bird, or the bird without the wing. But the Holy Spirit, Basilides proceeded, could not rise with the sonship to the highest sphere, that of the non-existent, since the Spirit was not consubstantial with the sonship. So it found a place for itself below the highest but above the world, and from thence it poured down the fragrance of the sonship with which it had been associated. Meanwhile the creation proceeded by steps which need not be mentioned here. The third sonship remained in the germ-world, still waiting to be lifted up. To effect this there came down light from above upon the Son of Mary, according to the Angel's word, "The Holy Spirit shall come upon thee"; that is, the Spirit that

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[1] οὐκ ὢν θεὸς ἐποίησε κόσμον οὐκ ὄντα ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων.

[2] The word ὁμοούσιος was used also by the Valentinian schools; cf. Iren. i. 5. 1, 5; Clem. *excerpt.* 42.

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Part I. iii.

came down from the sonship through the Spirit on the Border (τοῦ μεθορίου πνεύματος)[1] till it reached Mary; the purpose of this descent on Mary being that the third sonship which was left in the world might follow her Son, and so be purified and made subtle, till at last it could mount upwards as the first had done. When this has come to pass, and the entire sonship is above the Spirit on the Border, then at last the creation, which now groans and awaits the revelation of the sons of God, will find mercy.

With this curious passage may be compared what we learn about the Basilidian sect from Clement of Alexandria. The Egyptian Basilidians, it appears, kept the yearly festival of the Baptism (Jan. 6) with great solemnity, preparing for it by an all-night vigil[2]. They spoke of the Dove of the Baptism, which they identified with the Holy Spirit, as 'the minister' (ὁ διάκονος)[3], a title of the Spirit which we have already noted in the apology of Tatian[4].

Putting these fragments of Basilidian teaching together, it appears that Basilides or his school had learnt from the Gospels and Pauline Epistles to connect the Holy Spirit with sonship, which it is its function to lift and illuminate. At the same time the place assigned to the Spirit in this system is clearly subordinate. It cannot rise to the highest sphere; it is not of one substance with the non-

[1] I.e., the Spirit which ascended with the second sonship, and remained between the highest sphere and the lower world.

[2] Clem. Alex. *strom.* i. § 146.

[3] *Excerpta Theodoti* § 16. Cf. *strom.* ii. § 38.

[4] See p. 40 f.

existent, i.e., the transcendent, God; it occupies a position midway between the highest and the visible world, and its office is to minister, and not to exercise Divine authority or power. The attitude of this form of Gnosticism towards the Holy Spirit, if we read it aright, is strongly anticipatory of that of the developed Arianism of the fourth century. Part I. iii.

Valentinian Gnosticism in all its forms was characterized by a *pleroma* of aeons, but its schools differed as to the details. Irenaeus, who devotes his attention to the tenets of Ptolemaeus[1], a leader of the 'Italian' school[2], speaks of Christ and the Holy Spirit as forming in the Ptolemaean *pleroma* a syzygy of aeons, put forth for the purpose of settling and strengthening the *pleroma* after the expulsion of the erring aeon, Achamoth. This end was accomplished, it was said, by the teaching of Christ and the calming influence of His fellow-aeon, the Holy Spirit[3]. To glorify the Father was the aim of both. According to another statement the Holy Spirit entered the aeons invisibly, causing them to bear fruit[4]. Both accounts transfer to the Valentinian gnosis ideas which are of Christian origin, attributing to the Holy

Valentinus and the Valentinians. (*a*) The Italian school. Ptolemaeus.

[1] Iren. i. *praef.* 3.

[2] Hippol. vi. 35.

[3] Iren. i. 2. 6 τὸ δὲ ἓν πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον...εὐχαριστεῖν ἐδίδαξεν καὶ τὴν ἀληθινὴν ἀνάπαυσιν ἡγήσατο (*induxit*). Cf. Hippol. vi. 31 ἀνέδραμεν...ὁ χριστὸς καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα...ἐντὸς τοῦ ὅρου, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων αἰώνων δοξάζων τὸν πατέρα.

[4] Iren. i. 11. 1. According to this, the Holy Spirit was put forth by the aeon Ecclesia εἰς ἀνάκρισιν καὶ καρποφορίαν τῶν αἰώνων, ἀοράτως εἰς αὐτοὺς εἰσιόν.

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Spirit functions such as the New Testament assigns to Him, but locating His activity in the pleroma and not in the world.

With Basilides Valentinus, as represented by his Italian school, accepted St Luke's account of the Conception, interpreting it after a fashion of his own. "When the time came for taking away the veil that hung over the head of the psychic man, Jesus was born of the Virgin Mary...on whom descended the Holy Spirit, that is, the aeon Sophia, and the power of the Highest, that is, creative skill, in order to give form to that which Mary had received from the Holy Spirit....Jesus the Saviour was born of Mary that He might correct (διορθώσηται) things here, as Christ, the aeon who was put forth from above, corrected the passions of Achamoth; in like manner the Saviour, the Son of Mary, came to correct the passions of the soul[1]."

Heracleon.

Heracleon, another teacher of the Italian school of Valentinianism, has left us fragments of his commentary on St John[2] that illustrate the relations which the Valentinian conception of the Holy Spirit might bear to the religious life of Gnostic Christians. The "scourge of cords" (Jo. ii. 15), is, according to Heracleon, "an image of the power and energy of the Holy Spirit, when He blows away the baser sort[3]." "The water which the Saviour gives is from the Spirit

[1] Hippol. *phil.* vi. 35 f.

[2] Edited by A. E. Brooke, in *Texts and Studies* (I. 4).

[3] λέγων τὸ φραγέλλιον εἰκόνα τυγχάνειν τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ ἐνεργείας τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐκφυσῶντος τοὺς χείρονας (ed. Brooke, p. 69).

and His power[1]." "Through the Spirit and by the Spirit the soul is led to the Saviour[2]." Such words, coming from a pupil of Valentinus, must doubtless be taken in connexion with the strange system taught by his school: "the Saviour" and "the Spirit" are conceptions far removed from those which were in the mind of the Evangelist. Yet the comments of Heracleon are welcome as signs that this heretical teacher realized not less than the Catholics of his age, and perhaps even more than some of them, the greatness of the place which the Holy Spirit holds in the spiritual life of men.

(*b*) The Anatolic school.

Among the works of Clement of Alexandria there is printed a series of extracts from the teaching of the other great Valentinian School, the Anatolic or Oriental[3]. This collection supplements our knowledge, which has hitherto been derived exclusively from Western sources; and it contains exegetical remarks which, like the comments of Heracleon, surprise the reader at times by their insight and felicity. A few must be given here from those which relate to the Holy Spirit. "He that eateth of the true Bread of the Spirit shall not die[4]." "After the Resurrection He breathed the Spirit on the Apostles,

[1] ὁ δὲ δίδωσιν ὕδωρ ὁ σωτήρ, φησίν, ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ (*ib.* p. 72).

[2] διὰ γὰρ τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος προσάγεται ἡ ψυχὴ τῷ σωτῆρι.

[3] The notes are headed: ἐκ τῶν Θεοδότου καὶ τῆς ἀνατολικῆς καλουμένης διδασκαλίας.

[4] *Excerpt.* § 13 ὁ δὲ τὸν ἀληθινὸν ἄρτον τοῦ πνεύματος ἐσθίων οὐ τεθνήξεται

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and so doing He blew away the dust of the earth as it had been ashes, and kept it separate from them, while He kindled the spark and made it live[1]." The Saviour "commanded the Apostles, Go round and preach, and baptize those who believe into the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, into whom we are born anew, thus becoming far superior to all the other powers[2]." Other passages are more distinctively Gnostic. "Many are the hylic, not many are the psychic, and but few and far between are the spiritual[3]." "The Dove of the Baptism was the Spirit of the Father's Thought, which made its descent on the flesh of the Word[4]." Jesus "died when the Spirit that came down upon Him at the Jordan departed from Him[5]." One curious extract throws light on the Gnostic conception of Sacraments. "Both the Bread and the Oil are sanctified by the power of the Name, not being, as appearances seem to shew, the same after consecration as when they were taken; but they have been changed by power into a spiritual power (*εἰς δύναμιν πνευματικὴν μεταβέβληνται*). So also the water [in Baptism]...

[1] § 3 *ἐμφυσῶν τὸ πνεῦμα τοῖς ἀποστόλοις τὸν μὲν χοῦν καθάπερ τέφραν ἀπέφυσε καὶ ἐχώριζεν, ἐξῆπτε δὲ τὸν σπινθῆρα καὶ ἐζωοποίει.*

[2] § 76 *εἰς οὓς ἀναγεννωμεθα, τῶν λοιπῶν δυνάμεων ἁπασῶν ὑπεράνω γινόμενοι.*

[3] § 56 *πολλοὶ μὲν οἱ ὑλικοί, οὐ πολλοὶ δὲ οἱ ψυχικοί, σπάνιοι δὲ οἱ πνευματικοί.*

[4] § 16 *τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἐνθυμήσεως τοῦ πατρός, τὴν κατέλευσιν πεποιημένον ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ λόγου σάρκα.*

[5] § 61 *ἀπέθανεν δὲ ἀποστάντος τοῦ καταβάντος ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ πνεύματος.*

receives sanctification[1]." According to Irenaeus, the Valentinian Marcus professed to be able by the use of a long invocation over the Cup to change the colour of its contents, and explained the result as due to drops of blood which the aeon Charis shed into it[2]. Such gross materialism, however, has no place in the more spiritual conception of the *Excerpts*, which does not differ in principle from the theory of consecration held by later Catholic theologians[3] and apparently by Irenaeus himself[4].

On the religious life of Gnostic Christians and the place of the Holy Spirit in it something more may be learnt from the Gnostic Apocryphal Acts. The following description of a Gnostic Confirmation will shew how genuine piety and wild speculation mingled themselves in their worship. In the *Acts of Thomas*[5], the Apostle, pouring the oil on the heads of his converts, says: "Come, holy Name of Christ, which is above every name...come, Gift of grace most high, come, Mother compassionate, come, Dispensation of the male...come, Holy Spirit, and cleanse their reins and heart, and seal them in the Name of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit." Later in the same book a prayer ends: "O Good Shepherd, that gavest Thyself for Thine own sheep, and didst overcome the wolf, and ransom Thine own sheep, and bring them to a good pasture, we glorify and praise Thee and Thine invisible

[1] § 82. [2] Iren. i. 13. 2.
[3] Cf. the words of Cyril of Jerusalem quoted p. 207 f.
[4] Iren. iv. 18. 5. [5] *Act. Thom.* (ed. Lipsius-Bonnet) 27.

Father, and Thy Holy Spirit, and the Mother of all creatures[1]." An invocation on water runs thus: "Come, waters from the living waters—true waters from the true source (*τὰ ὄντα ἀπὸ τῶν ὄντων*), and sent to us; O rest sent to us from Rest, the power of salvation that comes from that Power which conquers all things and subjects them to His own will, come and dwell in these waters, that the grace of the Holy Spirit may perfectly be perfected in them[2]." Similarly in the Leucian *Acts of John*, St John takes the cup of poison offered to him by Domitian and says: "In Thy Name, Jesus Christ, Son of God, I drink the cup which Thou wilt sweeten; mingle the poison that is in it with Thy Holy Spirit, and make it to be a draught of life and health for healing of soul and body[3]." The mystic hymn which in the same book is sung by the Lord before His Passion ends thus: "Glory be to Thee, Father; glory to Thee, Word; glory to Thee, Spirit; glory to Thee, Holy One; glory to Thy Glory[4]." A cross of light then appears and the Lord explains to St John: "This Cross of light is for your sakes called by me sometimes Word, and at other times Mind, Jesus, Christ, Door, Way, Bread, Lord, Resurrection, Son, Father, Spirit, Life, Truth, Faith, Grace. These are its names in relation to men; but in very truth, as regarded in itself and as

[1] *Act. Thom.* 39.

[2] *Ib.* 52 (49) *ἡ...πηγή, ἡ δύναμις...ἐλθὲ καὶ σκήνωσον ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι τούτοις, ἵνα τὸ χάρισμα τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος τελείως ἐν αὐτοῖς τελειωθῇ.*

[3] *Acta Ioannis* 9.

[4] *Ib.* 94.

spoken of to you, it is the Dividing line (διορισμός) of all things[1]." Part I. iii

The reader will have had enough of this chaos of Gnostic theology. But it may serve to set him thinking how far Gnosticism by holding fast to the Fourth Gospel and St Paul was able, notwithstanding its wide departure from historical Christianity, to retain something of the fervour of Christian devotion and with it some measure of spiritual life.

Book of Elchasai.

In the days of Bishop Callistus (*c.* A.D. 220) there was brought to Rome by one Alcibiades of Apamea a book which emanated from the region east or south-east of Palestine[2]. It claimed to be a revelation which had been brought to one Elchasai by two angels of mythical dimensions and of equal size, related to one another as brother and sister and bearing the names of Christ and the Holy Spirit. For us the interest of the conception lies in this, that it represents the Holy Spirit as a created nature of exalted rank, and coordinates Him with the Son as an equal and a sister-power. It is not of course uncommon to find the Spirit represented as a female in writings of Aramaic origin, the sex being determined by the gender of the Semitic *rûaḥ* or *rûḥa*. Equality with the Son and the sisterly relation are implied in the Valentinian doctrine that Christ and the Holy

[1] *Ib.* 98 f.; cf. *Texts and Studies* v. 1, p. 18.

[2] Hippol. ix. 13 ff., Epiph. *haer.* xix. 4, xxx. 17, liii. 1. The fragments of the Book of Elchasai are collected by Hilgenfeld, *N. T. extra canonem* p. 153 ff. On the origin and history of the book see Hort, *Clementine Recognitions* p. 84 ff.

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Spirit formed a syzygy of aeons. But the vision of two closely related angels of vast proportions, creatures but greater than any creature known to us, is perhaps original and certainly of considerable interest. It anticipates Arianism in representing the Son and the Spirit as creatures, but escapes the further error of making the Spirit the creature of a created Son. But we look in vain to the few surviving fragments of the Book of Elchasai for further light upon this conception. As to the Elchasaite Christ we learn that He had inhabited many human bodies from Adam onwards before he appeared in Jesus. But the Angel-Spirit is not mentioned, although we read of "the holy spirits" and "the angels of prayer" as witnesses of the Elchasaite baptism[1], which is administered "in the name of the great and most high God, and in the name of His Son the great King," without mention of the third Person. The fragments, however, are too meagre to justify any conclusion from their silence on this point.

Clementine *Homilies* and *Recognitions*.

There is the less need to regret the loss of the Book of Elchasai, since Elchasaite principles are reflected in two interesting romances which have survived, the Clementine *Homilies* and *Recognitions*[2].

[1] Hilgenfeld, pp. 159, 160 ἐπιμαρτυρησάσθω ἑαυτῷ τοὺς ἑπτὰ μάρτυρας...τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὰ πνεύματα τὰ ἅγια καὶ τοὺς ἀγγέλους τῆς προσευχῆς καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον καὶ τὸ ἅλας καὶ τὴν γῆν.

[2] On this literature see Hort, *op. cit.* Bigg (*Studia Bibl.* ii. p. 191 f.) was disposed to regard the *Homilies* as a fourth century Arian revision of a Catholic book; cf. his *Origins of Christianity*, p. 43.

The doctrine of the Holy Spirit in these two works does not however present any striking departure from contemporary Catholic teaching, at least in regard to the form in which it is expressed. The Spirit was originally extended from God the Maker of the Universe; it was, as it were, the Hand of God which formed all things[1]. It is the life-giving Spirit that maintains life in the human body; when it quits, the body returns to dust[2]; it is the Spirit of foreknowledge which enables the true prophet to foretell events with precision, and which the false prophet lacks[3]. Our Teacher and Prophet was called Christ because He was anointed with oil from the Tree of Life, with which in turn He anoints the godly[4]. He knew all things by virtue of the Spirit which was innate and immanent in Him[5], and is the Spirit of Christ[6]. The Spirit of Christ is communicated in Baptism, which is therefore necessary to salvation: our Prophet said, "Except ye be born anew by living water into the Name of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, ye shall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven[7]." The water of Baptism is designed to quench the fires of nature, and to set us free from the fear that comes from our first birth;

[1] *Hom.* xii. 22 τὸ πνεῦμα ἀπὸ τοῦ τὰ ὅλα πεποιηκότος θεοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἐκτάσεως ἔχει...ὥσπερ χεὶρ αὐτοῦ τὰ πάντα δημιουργεῖ. Cf. *Recogn.* vi. 7.

[2] *Hom.* iii. 28 τὸ ἔμψυχον σῶμα τοῦ ζωοποιοῦ πνεύματος χωρισθέντος εἰς γῆν ἀναλύεται. Cf. *Hom.* xix. 15.

[3] *Hom.* iii. 14.

[4] *Recogn.* i. 45.

[5] *Hom.* iii. 12, 15.

[6] *Hom.* iii. 20.

[7] *Hom.* xi. 26; cf. *Recogn.* i. 63.

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and this it will do if the baptized lives in the world as a foreigner and pilgrim, the citizen of another city[1]. But the filling of the soul with the Holy Spirit is reserved for the saved, after they have lived well here; and the effect will be to open to them all secrets and hidden things, without the asking of a question[2]. The Clementine *Gloria* is in form almost identical with that which was ultimately accepted by Catholic usage: "to Thee be glory everlasting and praise, to Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, for all ages." But it is to be remembered that the *Homilies* and *Recognitions* profess to give the teaching of the Apostle Peter, and were moreover cast, as we cannot doubt, in language which would be as little offensive as possible to Catholic Christians.

Coptic Gnostic writings.

Other Gnostic books which have reached us only in Coptic translations[3] add but little to our knowledge of the place assigned to the Holy Spirit in the later systems which they represent. In the *Pistis Sophia* the Spirit of Jesus is often mentioned as given to His disciples for the purpose of opening their understandings to receive mysteries: "All generations," the Lord is represented as saying to them, "shall call you blessed, because I have revealed these things unto you and ye received them from my Spirit and became intelligent and spiritual, understanding what I say; and hereafter I will fill you with the whole light and the whole power of the Spirit[4]"—a reference

[1] *Recogn.* ix. 7. [2] *Recogn.* ii. 21.

[3] On the probable date of these books see Harnack, *Chron.* ii. p. 193 ff. [4] *Pistis Sophia*, ed. Petermann (1851), p. 55.

as it seems to the Pentecost. The descent of the Holy Spirit on the Lord Himself at the Baptism in the form of a Dove is in another passage worked into a context full of Gnostic speculation[1]; but no place appears to be assigned to the Spirit among the aeons. The Coptic books published by Dr C. Schmidt in 1892[2] leave us in the same uncertainty. They speak of a "baptism of the Holy Spirit" distinct from the baptism of water, and of a "spiritual unction," but beyond this there is no definite reference to the Spirit or His work.

Marcion.

It might have been expected that Marcion's devotion to St Paul would have led him to emphasize the work of the Holy Spirit, on which the great Epistles of St Paul to the Galatians and Romans so strongly insist. But on the Holy Spirit he seems to have been almost wholly silent. Neither the Conception nor the Baptism found a place in his 'Gospel,' which began with the preaching at Capernaum (Luke iv. 31). How Marcion himself understood the promise of the Paraclete, we do not know; according to Tertullian[3], he did not admit the authority of the fourth Gospel. Origen, however, tells us[4] that some of his disciples who did, maintained that the "other Paraclete" was to be identified with

[1] *Ibid.* p. 233.

[2] Schmidt, *Gnostische Schriften* (in *Texte u. Unters.* viii.) p. 195. They are to be found also, with the *Pistis Sophia*, in his *Koptisch-Gnostische Schriften.*

[3] *Adv. Marc.* iv. 3; *de carne Christi* 3.

[4] *In Luc. hom.* 25 nolunt intellegere tertiam personam a patre et filio, sed Apostolum Paulum.

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the Apostle Paul—meaning probably that the Lord's promise was chiefly fulfilled in the ministry and writings of St Paul. The Marcionites did not claim that they had the gift of prophecy[1]; indeed, it does not appear that they looked to any Spirit of God, other than Christ Himself, as the Giver of supernatural life.

Such of the Gnostic sects as accepted the Four Gospels, and baptized after the form derived from Matt. xxviii. 19, could not ignore the mission of the Paraclete, or refuse to correlate Him with the Father and the Son. But it was not easy for Gnosticism to find a place in any of its systems for such a conception of the Holy Spirit as the Gospels present; the attempt was made in various ways, but never satisfactorily. And though most of the Gnostic systems attached importance to the work of the Spirit, both in Baptism and in life, their view of the spiritual life led them to seek the sphere of His operations in the intellect rather than in the moral nature of man. For this reason the whole tone of Gnostic teaching on the Spirit differs widely from that of Catholic Christians in the second and third centuries. Sometimes it seems to shew a fervour and sympathy which we miss in contemporary Catholic writers, but it is wanting in seriousness and, it must be feared, in the power to make for righteousness which the simpler teaching of the Church proved itself to possess.

[1] Tert. *adv. Marc.* v. 15.

IV.

THE MONTANISTS.

Montanus and early Montanism.

About the middle of the second century[1] an obscure Mysian village on the Phrygian border[2] witnessed the rise of a movement which called attention afresh to the presence of the Holy Spirit in the living Church. Montanus, its author, was a recent convert from heathenism who may have brought into his new faith[3] the undisciplined extravagance of the local Cybele-worship, and perhaps was taken more seriously than he deserved. But whether from a true insight or by accident, he struck a note which awakened an answer in many minds, and for which the times seemed to call.

Montanism in its original form is known to us almost exclusively through the fragments of an anti-Montanistic literature, and a few sayings of Montanus and his early followers preserved by

[1] Harnack's date is 156–7; see *Chron.* i. pp. 370, 721. On the whole subject cf. Bonwetsch, *Die Geschichte d. Montanismus* (1881); art. *Montanismus* in Hauck (1903).

[2] Eus. *H. E.* v. 16 κώμη ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὴν Φρυγίαν Μυσίᾳ καλουμένη Ἀρδαβαῦ τοὔνομα.

[3] Cf. Eus. *l.c.* τινὰ τῶν νεοπίστων.

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Catholic writers[1]. But enough can be gleaned from these sources to explain the hold which this Phrygian sect gained upon Christendom both in East and West.

Christian prophets have met us already in the *Teaching* and the *Shepherd*, and their claims were generally allowed. The names of Ammia of Philadelphia and Quadratus were held in honour, and it was recognized that the prophetic gift must continue to exist in the universal Church until the Advent[2]. The protest which was raised by the Bishops of Asia Minor against Montanus and his followers was not directed against their use of prophecy but against the manner in which they used it, which, as it was urged, was opposed to the tradition of the Church[3]. According to the anti-Montanist writer quoted by Eusebius, Montanus would suddenly find himself possessed, and in a state of ecstatic frenzy; he raved and uttered strange sounds[4], more like an energumen than a true prophet. The Montanist prophetesses, Priscilla and Maximilla, are said to have behaved in like manner under the influence of the new Spirit

[1] The ἄπειροι βίβλοι of the sect (Hippol. viii. 19) resolve themselves in the Gelasian Decretals into *opuscula*, which is probably nearer to the truth; and even these have long disappeared.

[2] Miltiades *ap.* Eus. *H.E.* v. 17 δεῖν γὰρ εἶναι τὸ προφητικὸν χάρισμα ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ μέχρι τῆς τελείας παρουσίας ὁ ἀπόστολος ἀξιοῖ.

[3] *Ibid.* 16 παρὰ τὸ κατὰ παράδοσιν καὶ κατὰ διαδοχὴν ἄνωθεν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἔθος.

[4] Eus. *l.c.* ἐν κατοχῇ τινι καὶ παρεκστάσει γενόμενον ἐνθουσιᾷν ἄρξασθαί τε λαλεῖν καὶ ξενοφωνεῖν.

of prophecy[1]. How far are these charges justified by utterances which are alleged to be those of Montanus and his prophetesses? A few of these may help us to decide. "Behold a man is as a lyre, and I fly over it like a plectrum[2]. The man sleeps, and I remain awake. Behold it is the Lord that stirs the hearts of men, and gives men hearts[3]." Again: "I am the Lord God Almighty, dwelling in man." "It is neither angel nor ambassador[4], but I, God the Father, who am come[5].' "I am chased like a wolf from the sheep. I am no wolf; I am utterance and spirit and power...[6]." "After me shall be no prophetess any more, but the consummation (συντέλεια).... Hear not me, but hear Christ[7]." "The Lord sent me to be the party-leader, informer, interpreter of this task, profession, and covenant, constrained, whether he will or nill, to learn the knowledge of God[8]." "Christ came to me in the likeness of a woman, clad in a bright robe, and He planted wisdom in me and revealed that this place (Pepuza) is holy, and that here Jerusalem comes down from heaven[9]."

[1] Eus. *l.c.* ὡς καὶ λαλεῖν ἐκφρόνως καὶ ἀκαίρως κτλ.

[2] Bonwetsch (*Montanismus*, p. 64) compares Hippol. *de Chr. et antichr.* 2.

[3] Montanus *ap.* Epiph. *haer.* xlviii. 4.

[4] See Isa. lxiii. 9 (LXX).

[5] Montanus *ap.* Epiph. *haer.* xlviii. 11.

[6] Maximilla *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* v. 16 ῥῆμά εἰμι καὶ πνεῦμα καὶ δύναμις.

[7] Maximilla *ap.* Epiph. *haer.* xlviii. 2.

[8] Maximilla *ap.* Epiph. *haer.* xlviii. 12, 13.

[9] Priscilla *ap.* Epiph. *haer.* xlix. 1.

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If these specimens fairly represent the New Prophecy in its first days, it does not seem to have been open to the charges of frantic folly and direct blasphemy that its Catholic antagonists laid against it. Montanus does but follow the example of the ancient Prophets[1] when he speaks in the Name of God, regarding himself, perhaps sincerely, as the mouthpiece of the Divine Spirit; and in this case his words are fanatical rather than profane. There is more selfconsciousness in the utterances attributed to the prophetesses, but the faults are mainly such as may have been due to ignorance, lack of judgement, and the tension caused by great religious excitement. Such faults may coexist, as experience shews, with earnestness of purpose and even with genuine spiritual gifts. The situation has points of resemblance with that which St Paul describes as existing at Corinth in his day; in Montanus and his first followers we seem to have a reversion to the primitive type of prophecy, allowance being made for the greater rudeness of a rural population, and the excitable temperament of the natives of Phrygia.

Montanism in Asia Minor.

But the movement doubtless had its darker side. The New Prophecy occupied itself with extravagant pretensions and sensational utterances rather than with the sober task which St Paul had set before the Corinthian prophets—the edification of the Church. The old mistake was repeated, and the ecstatic, sensational element of prophecy was put

[1] Neander (*Ch. H.* ii. 207) calls attention to the O.T. standpoint of Montanism in its original form.

before that which ministered to the spiritual good of the community. Dangerous tendencies soon began to reveal themselves. There were those who professed that they had learnt more from Montanus and his followers than from the Law and the Prophets or even the Gospels, and placed Maximilla and Priscilla above Apostles, even venturing to say that there was in them something greater than Christ Himself[1]. As the movement proceeded, the Montanists shewed a disposition to quarrel with the local Church, which refused to acknowledge the claims of the New Prophecy. In many parts of the province of Asia synods were held to deal with the situation, and the new prophets found themselves not only denied the honour due to the organs of the Spirit, but excluded from communion and from Christian fellowship[2]. It is difficult to say how far the bitterness which the later Montanists exhibited towards the Church was roused by the memory of this somewhat hasty action on the part of the Asian Bishops. Certainly Maximilla's utterance, quoted above, betrays the soreness of one who has smarted under expulsion from the fold for conscience' sake. She found consolation, as such sufferers often do, in the belief that the end was at

[1] Hippol. viii. 19 *ὑπὲρ δὲ ἀποστόλους καὶ πᾶν χάρισμα ταῦτα τὰ γύναια δοξάζουσιν, ὡς τολμᾷν πλεῖόν τι Χριστοῦ ἐν τούτοις λέγειν τινὰς αὐτῶν γεγονέναι.*

[2] Eus. *H. E.* v. 16 *τὴν δὲ καθόλου καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐκκλησίαν βλασφημεῖν, διδάσκοντος τοῦ ἀπηυθαδισμένου πνευματος ὅτι μήτε τιμὴν μήτε πάροδον εἰς αὐτὴν τὸ ψευδοπροφητικὸν ἐλάμβανε πνεῦμα.*

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hand, and regarded herself as the last of the goodly fellowship of the Prophets.

Montanism in Europe. (*a*) Gaul.

Within a quarter of a century the movement had spread far beyond Asia: it had crossed to Europe and made its way to Lyons and to Rome[1], and in both those centres of Western Church life it found much sympathy. The confessors of Lyons and Vienne were in full communion with the Church under their Bishop Pothinus; but if not Montanists, they were evidently not uninfluenced by the revival of spiritual life for which Montanism stood. It is clear that the suffering Churches of Gaul had been sustained by the new emphasis which had been laid on the continual presence of the Paraclete. Their letter to the Churches of Asia and Phrygia speaks much of this presence. The martyr Vettius Epagathus, who was "known as the advocate of Christians, had the Advocate within him, the Spirit in fuller measure than Zacharias[2]; and he shewed this by the fulness of his love, in that he was content to lay down his life for the defence of his brethren." The martyrs were refreshed by "the joy of bearing witness, and the hope of the promised blessings, and by their love for Christ and the Spirit of the Father[3]." This is not Montanism, but it represents the best side of the movement of which Montanus and his party were an abnormal product. The Montanists pointed

[1] Eus. *H. E.* v. 3.

[2] Eus. *H. E.* v. 1 παράκλητος Χριστιανῶν χρηματίσας, ἔχων δὲ τὸν Παράκλητον ἐν ἑαυτῷ, τὸ πνεῦμα πλεῖον Ζαχαρίου.

[3] ἐκείνους γὰρ ἐπεκούφιζεν...τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ πατρικόν.

to their martyrs as the sure evidence of the power of the Spirit which their prophets claimed[1]. All the heresies, the Catholics replied, can boast of martyrs; to be able to do so is no criterion of truth. Nevertheless the perpetual presence of the Paraclete with the faithful, which the Montanists, with all their crudities, maintained, was a doctrine well fitted to inspire courage in the hour of danger. Part I. iv.

From their prison the confessors of South Gaul wrote in the interests of peace[2] both to the Churches of Asia and Phrygia, and also to Bishop Eleutherus of Rome[3], before whom, as it seems, the case of the Montanists of Asia Minor had been brought. What was the result of the mission of Irenaeus, who was sent to Rome in charge of the letter to Eleutherus, we do not know. But according to Tertullian[4] a Bishop of Rome towards the end of the second century was on the point of recognizing Montanus and his prophetesses and sending letters of peace to the Montanistic Churches of Asia and Phrygia, when he was dissuaded by the heretic Praxeas, who thus, in Tertullian's phrase, "expelled Prophecy from Rome and put the Paraclete to flight[5]." Was this Roman Bishop Eleutherus, or was it Victor? Harnack finds it necessary to leave the question (*b*) Italy.

[1] Eus. *H. E.* v. 16 τεκμήριον πιστὸν τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς λεγομένου προφητικοῦ πνεύματος.

[2] τῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν εἰρήνης ἕνεκα πρεσβεύοντες.

[3] Eus. *H. E.* v. 3, 4.

[4] *Adv. Prax.* 1.

[5] *Ibid.* prophetiam expulit...Paracletum fugavit.

Part I. iv.

unanswered[1]. If Victor is intended, it must be supposed that Eleutherus took no decisive action, and that Montanism was not condemned at Rome before the last decade of the century. Under Zephyrinus, who succeeded Victor in 202, a Montanist teacher from Asia Minor appeared in the capital; but he was answered by the Roman presbyter Caius in a public discussion, the record of which survived to the time of Eusebius[2].

Some of the anti-Montanists in the heat of controversy were led to deny the authority of the Johannine writings, on which the Montanists chiefly relied. Irenaeus, after mentioning Marcion's rejection of the fourth Gospel, continues[3]: "Others, in order to frustrate the gift of the Spirit which in these last times has been poured out on mankind in accordance with the good pleasure of the Father, do not admit the form of teaching which accords with the Gospel of St John[4], where we have the Lord's promise that He will send the Paraclete; but repudiate at once the Gospel and the prophetic Spirit. Unhappy men indeed! who would fain be prophets (but false ones), while they drive from the Church the grace of prophecy." Epiphanius, referring apparently to the same party or to others who shared their views,

[1] *Chron.* i. 375.

[2] Eus. *H. E.* ii. 25, vi. 20.

[3] Iren. iii. 11. 9. Cf. Stanton, *Gospels*, i. p. 198 f.

[4] Illam speciem quae est secundum Ioannis evangelium. Irenaeus had himself "heard many brethren exercising in Church prophetic gifts" (*haer.* v. 6. 1; cf. Eus. *H. E.* v. 7). With the whole passage compare *Preaching*, c. 99.

adds that they rejected also the Apocalypse of St John, attributing it to Cerinthus. As the one Christian prophecy which claimed a place among the Apostolic writings, and moreover a book of visions and 'ecstasies,' it would naturally be suspected by persons to whom all that partook of the nature of the ecstatic was intolerable. The Alogi, as Epiphanius names this extreme school of Anti-Montanists[1], might perhaps have been more appropriately called Apneumati or Aparacleti: not that they categorically denied the existence of the Holy Spirit or the fact of the Pentecostal effusion, but because in their extreme fear of enthusiasm they shrank from any recognition of the abiding presence of the Spirit in the Church[2]. Part I. iv.

(*c*) North Africa.

Meanwhile, to minds which were cast in a different mould, Montanism commended itself as a timely witness to the immanence of the Spirit in the living Church. The Montanistic writer of the *Passion of Perpetua*—perhaps Tertullian[3]—has expressed this feeling with remarkable force in his preface. "If the patterns of faith in ancient days bear witness to the grace of God and make for the edification of man, and for that reason have been collected in writing... why should not recent examples be collected in like manner, seeing that they serve both these ends equally

Passion of Perpetua.

[1] Epiph. *haer.* li. 3 ἐπεὶ τὸν λόγον οὐ δέχονται τὸν παρὰ Ἰωάννου κεκηρυγμένον, Ἄλογοι κληθήσονται.

[2] Epiph. *haer.* li. 35 μὴ νοοῦντες τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος...καὶ οὐκ εἰδότες τὰ ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ χαρίσματα.

[3] See *Texts and Studies*, I. 2, p. 47 ff.

Part I. iv.

with the old?" "Let those see to it who regard the One Holy Spirit as exercising but one and the same power in all ages; it is rather to be supposed that His more recent manifestations will be the greatest, since grace is to abound in the last stages of the world's history. For 'in the last days, saith the Lord, I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy ...and the young men shall see visions and the old men shall dream dreams.' And so we, who recognize and honour alike the new prophecies and visions which were promised, and regard the other powers of the Spirit as sent for the better equipment of the Church...feel ourselves compelled to compile the facts and to provide that they shall be read to the glory of God; in order that a feeble or desponding faith may not suppose that the grace of God dwelt only with the men of old time...whereas God is always working as He promised, for a testimony to those that believe not and for the good of those that believe[1]." The writer ends his narrative with an appeal to all who "magnify, honour, and adore the glory of Christ" to read these modern examples of faith which are not inferior to those of ancient days, in order that such fresh acts of power may witness to them that the one and self-same Holy Spirit is working to the present hour[2].

The *Passio* represents Perpetua and her companions as cheered and sustained in their sufferings by ecstatic visions. At her baptism, which occurred

[1] *Pass. Perpet.* 1. [2] *Pass. Perpet.* 21.

but a few days before she was thrown into prison, the Spirit put it into her mind to make it her one petition that she might have strength to endure pain[1]. The visions supplied her need in prison, and when the day came for the martyrs to suffer Perpetua was "so completely under the power of the Spirit and in a state of ecstasy[2]" that after she had been tossed by an infuriated cow, on recovering consciousness she would not believe that it was so till her torn garments and bruised limbs proved that this part of her conflict was over. Ecstasy and the seeing of visions, which had accompanied the early stages of the movement, were evidently still characteristic of the New Prophecy in North Africa. "St Peter," Tertullian writes[3], "knew not what he said [on the Mount of Transfiguration]. How was this? Was it an ordinary aberration, or was he in the state of ecstasy, the suspension of the mental faculties, which is incidental to grace? Surely a man who is in the Spirit, especially when he sees the glory of God, or when God speaks by his mouth, may be expected to lose consciousness, inasmuch as he is overshadowed by the Divine power." In a curious passage of his book *On the Soul*[4], the same great Montanist writer describes an ecstasy which seized a member of his congregation while he was preaching. "We have to-day amongst us," he says, "a sister to whose lot

Tertullian's Montanistic writings.

[1] *Pass. Perpet.* 3.

[2] *Pass. Perpet.* 20 adeo in spiritu et in ecstasi.

[3] *Adv. Marc.* iv. 22.

[4] *De anima* 9.

Part I. iv.

it has fallen to possess the gift of receiving revelations[1]. They come upon her in church, during Divine Service, in the form of an ecstatic spiritual elevation[2]; she holds conversation with angels and at times with the Lord, and she sees and hears mysteries, and reads the hearts of some, and prescribes remedies for those who need them. As the scriptures are read or the psalms sung or addresses are delivered or prayers offered, these supply her with the materials for visions. It happened that I had discoursed on the soul, when this sister was in the Spirit. After the service was over and the people had been dismissed, she related to me what she had seen, as she was accustomed to do. 'Amongst other things (she said) there was shewn me a soul in bodily form'." It is not necessary to continue the story of her dream. The incident is not very convincing; this sister, had the ecstasy been more than imaginary, would have disregarded the conventions and delivered herself of her message in public, while Tertullian was still discoursing; nor is her vision, when it is told, of any special interest. We have probably lost more attractive illustrations of Montanist revelations through the disappearance of Tertullian's great work *On Ecstasy*[3]—a defence of Montanism in six books, dealing as the title shews

[1] Revelationum charismata.

[2] Per ecstasim in spiritu.

[3] See Hieron. *de viris illustr.* 24, 40, 53, and cf. Harnack, *Chron.* ii. 276 f.; Bardenhewer, *Gesch. d. altchristl. Literatur*, ii. p. 382 f.

more especially with the ecstatic state which seems to have been characteristic of the African type[1].

For Tertullian, however, the interest of Montanism lay chiefly in the assurance which the New Prophecy seemed to give that the Holy Spirit was still teaching the Church. He is careful to insist that though the movement was a new one, the Spirit was none other than the Paraclete who had been promised and already sent; and that his teaching through the Montanist prophets was not essentially new[2]. When Catholics laid against the Montanists the charge of introducing novelties and departing from the traditions of the Church, Tertullian's answer was: "The Paraclete brings in nothing new; He does but state clearly what He has already hinted, and claims what He has kept in abeyance.... He should be regarded as the restorer rather than the originator[3]." Nevertheless, if Montanism offered nothing that was essentially new, or which had not at least its root in the old, there was progress and growth in the dispensation of the Spirit. "The Paraclete, having many things to teach which the Lord reserved for Him...will first bear witness to

[1] Dr Lawlor points out (*J. T. S.* ix. p. 488 f.) that the ecstasy contemplated by Tertullian "was something very different from the violent and uncontrolled ravings of the Phrygian prophets." Different surroundings perhaps sufficiently account for this diversity.

[2] *De ieiunio* 1 novitatem...objectant.

[3] *De monog.* 3, 4 nihil novi Paracletus inducit; quod praemonuit definit, quod sustinuit exposcit...ut paracletum restitutorem potius sentias eius quam institutorem.

Part I. iv.

Christ Himself...and glorify Him and bring Him to our remembrance; and when thus recognized by His adherence to the fundamental rule of faith, He will proceed to reveal many things which appertain to the conduct of life[1]." A legitimate developement is according to Tertullian to be sought in the sphere of Christian ethics rather than in the Christian doctrine of God. "The Lord," he writes in another book[2], "sent the Paraclete that the discipline of life might step by step be guided and ordered and brought to perfection by His Vicar, the Holy Spirit, inasmuch as human imperfection could not receive all at once. What does the dispensation of the Spirit mean but disciplinary guidance, the opening of the Scriptures, the remoulding of the mind, and a general advance to better things?... Nothing is without its due time; all things await their season.... Righteousness was at first rudimentary, consisting in a natural fear of God; then it advanced by means of the Law and the Prophets to its infancy; then through the Gospel it broke out into the fervour of youth, and now through the Paraclete it is settling down into mature life[3]."

Tertullian could do nothing by halves, and having taken up Montanism he was led to regard with a hearty dislike and contempt those Catholics who

[1] *De monog.* 2. [2] *De virg. vel.* 1.

[3] Sic et iustitia...primo fuit in rudimentis, natura Deum metuens; dehinc per legem et prophetas promovit in infantiam; dehinc per evangelium efferbuit in iuventutem; nunc per paracletum componitur in maturitatem.

could not accept the claims of Montanus, or the asceticism which the Carthaginian Montanists espoused. All such were 'psychics,' though their church might count up its bishops; the Montanist body was the Church of the Spirit, and its ministers were spiritual men[1]. Yet Tertullian brings no charge of heresy against the Church, nor does he claim that Montanism had added materially to Christian doctrine; if the Paraclete had contributed anything of this nature, it was in the way of illustrating or confirming the common faith[2].

Pseudo-Tertullian, *Against all the heresies.*

Does Tertullian in this respect represent Montanism in its original form, or as it was interpreted in the West? The early tract *Against all the heresies* which in some MSS. follows Tertullian's book *On Prescriptions of heretics*, and is probably based on Hippolytus, distinguishes between two schools of Montanists, those which followed Proclus and Aeschines respectively. Both are charged with refusing to identify the Holy Spirit with the Paraclete, and the latter is said to have held that Christ is both Father and Son[3]. Some colour was given to both views by the crude language of the oracles

[1] *De pud.* 21 ecclesia quidem delicta donabit, sed ecclesia spiritus per spiritalem hominem, non ecclesia numerus episcoporum.

[2] Cf., e.g., *adv. Prax.* 8, 13, 30.

[3] Ps.-Tert. *adv. omnes haer.* 7. Cf. Hippol. *phil.* viii. 19 τινὲς δὲ αὐτῶν τῇ τῶν Νοητιανῶν αἱρέσει συντιθέμενοι τὸν πατέρα αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν υἱὸν λέγουσιν. See also *phil.* x. 25; Socr. i. 26; and on the other hand see Epiph. *haer.* xlviii. 1, περὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος ὁμοίως φρονοῦσι τῇ ἁγίᾳ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.

Part I. iv.

attributed to Montanus and his prophetesses[1]; and a saying is attributed to Montanus by a fourth century Catholic writer[2] which is distinctly Sabellian: "I am the Father and the Son and the Paraclete." If the words were spoken by Montanus, they probably meant no more than his undoubted sayings about the Lord dwelling in him and speaking by his lips; the Father and the Son dwelt and spoke in him through the Paraclete. But such a saying would expose his followers to a charge of Monarchianism, as soon as that heresy appeared; and there may have been some among them who were not indisposed to make common cause with Noetus against the Church. Neither of the heresies laid to the charge of the Montanists received any support from Tertullian. He did not even admit that Montanus, Priscilla, and Maximilla had challenged any single article of the Church's faith or hope[3]. As for the heretical Monarchianism, Tertullian was its most conspicuous opponent; and though he believed that the Paraclete spoke by Montanus, assuredly he did not deny that He came to the Church according to the Lord's

[1] See p. 69.

[2] Didymus *de trin.* iii. 41 ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ὁ υἱὸς καὶ ὁ παράκλητος. Elsewhere (ii. 15) Didymus states that the Church refused Montanist baptism διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰς τὰς τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις βαπτίζειν, ἀλλὰ πιστεύειν τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα. Cf. the so-called 7th canon of Constantinople, and Theodoret, *haer. fab.* iii. 2. Basil (*ep.* 188. 1) has another reason to give: the Montanists baptize εἰς πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ Μοντανὸν ἢ Πρίσκιλλαν. But the errors of certain Montanists in the fourth century ought not to be laid at the door of Montanus and Priscilla.

[3] *De jej.* 1.

promise shortly after the Ascension, and was with her in the days before the New Prophecy began[1]. For Tertullian, and probably for many of its adherents both in East and West, Montanism stood for a recognition of the active presence of the Paraclete in the Body of Christ, and for a more spiritual and a more ascetic type of Church life than the official churches seemed to offer[2]. With the puritanism of the great African little sympathy may be felt; but the emphasis which he laid upon the work of the Paraclete in the living Church deserves the warm gratitude of all who recognize that neither an orthodox creed nor an unbroken succession can satisfy without the stirring of a supernatural life. And in the fact that Montanism helped to keep this consciousness alive lies the debt which the Church owes to this, as to many another, obscure and ignorant sect which, its message delivered, has passed away, sometimes to be forgotten by posterity, sometimes, as in the case of Montanism, to be remembered for its follies rather than for the permanent service it has rendered to the faith. No doubt the reaction against Montanism threatened the Church with worse evils than the neglect of prophecy, and there were those on the anti-Montanist side who were ready to abandon all faith in spiritual gifts[3]. But on the whole the movement which the sect created was beneficial, especially perhaps in the West, where tradition and convention were apt to exercise too great a control.

Part I. iv.

[1] Cf. *adv. Prax.* 25; *de jej.* 13 f.

[2] On Tertullian's Montanism see the article by Prof. Lawlor already quoted.

[3] Iren. iii. 11. 9.

V.

IRENAEUS OF LYONS.

Part I. v.

Irenaeus: *Refutation, Preaching.*

Of the Church of South Gaul in the second half of the second century, and its special devotion for the Paraclete, something has been said already. It has had the good fortune to be represented by a great Christian writer whose books are among the more important survivals of his age. Irenaeus was a presbyter of Lyons at the time of the persecution (A.D. 177–8), and shortly afterwards became its bishop[1]. But other strains are woven into the texture of his Christianity, besides the traditions of the Church of Lyons; the teaching of the Church of the province of Asia, where he had resided in early life, and the teaching of the Church of Rome, where he seems to have spent some time soon after his arrival in Europe. Thus, as was pointed out by Dr Lightfoot in his Essay on the Churches of Gaul[2], Irenaeus possessed "exceptional advantages" and on certain points "his testimony must be regarded as directly representing three Churches at least."

[1] Eus. *H. E.* v. 4, 5.

[2] In the *Contemporary Review* for Aug. 1876 (reprinted in *Supernatural Religion*, pp. 251—271).

Lightfoot refers to the special value of the witness which Irenaeus bears to the canon, but the remark applies also in some measure to his conception of Christian doctrine. Here, however, Irenaeus is more than a mere witness to earlier Christian belief. He felt that the rapid growth of Gnostic heresy imposed upon the Church the necessity of giving scientific expression to her faith, and he endeavoured to meet this want by interpreting the rule of faith with some approach to system. The Gnostics were the first theologians[1], if the name of theology can be given to arbitrary speculations systematically arranged; but the first constructive theologian of historical Christianity after the Apostolic age was undoubtedly Irenaeus. His theology may be collected from his two extant works, the *Refutation of Gnosis falsely so called*[2], and the *Setting forth of the Apostolic Preaching*[3]. The *Preaching* is a comparatively short and popular treatise, but of considerable interest as a later work which repeats all the chief doctrinal points of the *Refutation*, and sometimes throws further light upon them[4].

[1] Harnack, *History of Dogma*, i. p. 227.

[2] Ἔλεγχος καὶ ἀνατροπὴ τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως (or, Πρὸς τὰς αἱρέσεις, Eus. *H. E.* iii. 23).

[3] Ἐπίδειξις τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ κηρύγματος (Eus. *H. E.* v. 26), edited in an Armenian version with a German translation by Harnack and others (Leipzig, 1907). The *Preaching* is a later work than the *Refutation*, which it quotes (c. 99).

[4] See Harnack, *Apost. Verkündigung*, p. 66; *J. T. S.* ix. p. 284; and especially an article by F. R. Montgomery Hitchcock in *Hermathena*, xiv. 33 (1907).

Part I. v.

What place, then, does the Holy Spirit hold in the theology of Irenaeus, so far as it can be learnt from these sources? His chief interest lies in the Incarnation of the Son, but the doctrine of the Spirit is not overlooked, and for the first time it takes its place in an orderly scheme of Christian teaching.

Irenaeus starts by setting forth the traditional rule of faith[1]. "The Church, although scattered throughout the whole world to the ends of the earth," holds one and the same faith, which she has "received from the Apostles and their disciples—the faith in one God, the Father Almighty...and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who was made flesh for our salvation; and in the Holy Spirit, that through the prophets preached the dispensations and the advents[2], and the birth from a virgin[3] and the passion and the resurrection from the dead and the ascension in the flesh into the heavens of the Beloved, Christ Jesus our Lord, and His advent from the heavens in the glory of the Father to sum up all things and to raise up all flesh of all mankind." Evidently the faith, as Irenaeus had received it, laid chief stress on the Holy Spirit as the Spirit of prophecy, i.e., of Old Testament Christological prophecy, on which the

[1] *Haer.* i. 10. 1.

[2] καὶ εἰς πνεῦμα ἅγιον τὸ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν κεκηρυχὸς τὰς οἰκονομίας καὶ τὰς ἐλεύσεις κτλ. Cf. iv. 33. 7 καὶ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ... τὸ τὰς οἰκονομίας πατρός τε καὶ υἱοῦ σκηνοβατοῦν (*qui...exposuit*: 'exhibited as in a drama') καθ' ἑκάστην γενεὰν ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, καθὼς βούλεται ὁ πατήρ.

[3] Cf. *haer.* v. 1. 3.

second century constantly insisted. The *Preaching* also in stating the rule of faith starts with the prophetic Spirit, but carries His functions further: "the third point in the rule of our faith is the Holy Spirit, through whom the Prophets prophesied, and the fathers learnt the things of God, and the righteous were guided into the way of righteousness; and who at the end of the ages poured Himself out after a new fashion on mankind over the whole earth, renewing men for God[1]." Part I. v.

Irenaeus, however, while loyally accepting tradition, does not limit himself to it. Like earlier teachers of the second century, he identifies the Holy Spirit with the Divine Wisdom of the Book of Proverbs, and assigns to Him a place with the Divine Word in the cosmogony. "That the Word, i.e., the Son, was always with the Father has been shewn at length; that Wisdom also, which is the Spirit, was with Him before all creation is taught by Solomon (Prov. iii. 19 f., viii. 22 ff.). There is, therefore, one God, who made and constructed all things by His Word and Wisdom[2]," and no place is left for the intermediary powers of the Gnostic "pleroma"; God has no need of such, for "by His own Word and Spirit He makes, orders, and governs all things, and gives them all their being[3]." Man, especially, owes his origin to the two Hands of God, His Son and Spirit, for it was to these that the words, 'Let us

[1] Harnack, *Verkündigung*, c. 6 (p. 4).
[2] *Haer.* iv. 20. 3, 4; cf. ii. 30. 9.
[3] Cf. *Preaching*, c. 5.

Part I. v.

make man,' were spoken[1]. But neither in the creation of the world nor in that of man had the Father need of any to minister to Him; "He had a ministry which was abundant and beyond words, for He is ministered to in all things by His own Offspring and His Image, i.e., by the Son and Holy Spirit, to whom all angels render service and are subject[2]." The Son and the Spirit, then, both belong to the essential life of God, and, though used as ministers, are not external instruments which can be assumed or laid aside at pleasure. As the Hands of God, they are Divine and coequal; of the eternal relations of the two to one another and to the Father Irenaeus does not speak, though, as we shall presently see, in his treatment of the mission of the Spirit there are indications that these are in the background of his thought.

Of the unction of the Incarnate Son by the Spirit Irenaeus has much to say. While he does not hesitate to use the term 'Spirit of God' in reference to the pre-existent Son[3], there is no confusion in his

[1] *Haer.* iv. praef. 4 homo...per manus eius plasmatus est, h. e. per Filium et Spiritum, quibus et dixit, Faciamus hominem. Cf. iv. 20. 1; v. 6. 1, 28. 3.

[2] *Haer.* iv. 7. 4 ministrat enim ei ad omnia sua progenies et figuratio sua, id est, filius et spiritus sanctus, verbum et sapientia. *Figuratio sua* is possibly ἡ μόρφωσις (i. 15. 3) or εἰκὼν αὐτοῦ, and αὐτοῦ may refer to the Son; see Harvey's note. But this is to interpret Irenaeus by the practice of a later age (*History of the Doctrine of the Procession*, p. 52), and the Latin interpreter is probably right in repeating *sua*.

[3] *Haer.* iii. 10. 3; *Preaching*, c. 71 (p. 40). Cf. *J.T.S.* ix. p. 287 f.

own mind between the second Person and the Third, such as we find in the writings of Justin. As the two Hands of God are distinguished in their cosmical operations, so are the Unction and the Anointed in the Messianic life. "The Father anointed, the Son was anointed, the Spirit was the Unction[1]," is Irenaeus's formula. The Gnostic distinction between Jesus and Christ, the human person and a superhuman aeon, is disclaimed. "It was not the Christ who at the Baptism descended on Jesus, nor is the Christ one person and Jesus another; but the Word of God,...who took flesh and was anointed by the Father with the Spirit, became Jesus the Christ.... The Spirit of God it was that descended on Jesus, the Spirit of Him who by the Prophets had promised to anoint Him; that receiving of the unction which overflows from Him we might be saved[2]." For the anointing of Jesus Christ was but the first step towards the anointing of mankind with the Spirit. "He descended on the Son of God made Son of Man, thus accustoming Himself to dwell in the race, and to rest in men and dwell in the creatures of God, working in them the Father's will, renewing them so that they pass from the old self into the newness of Christ[3]."

Irenaeus enters into the details of the Holy Spirit's work on the hearts and lives of men with a fulness which is far in advance of other Christian

[1] *Haer.* iii. 18. 3 'unxit me,' significans et unguentem patrem et unctum filium, et unctionem, qui est spiritus. Cf. *Preaching*, c. 47.

[2] *Haer.* iii. 9. 2, 3.

[3] *Haer.* iii. 17. 1.

Part I. v.

writers of the second century. The Paraclete was sent to fit men for God, to bring them into union and fellowship with Him[1]. Our Good Samaritan was moved with pity for the human nature He had taken, and not only bound up its wounds but "left it to the care of the Holy Spirit, giving two of the King's coins that we might through the Spirit receive the image and superscription of the Father and the Son, and cause the coin entrusted to us to bear fruit, counting it out to the Lord multiplied[2]." The imagery of two parables is blended here, but the relation of the work of the Spirit to that of the Son is well put: the Spirit is entrusted with the restoration of redeemed humanity to the image of God which was revealed in the Incarnate Son. The work is gradual, as St Paul teaches when he calls the Spirit an earnest. "We receive now a portion of the Spirit of Christ to perfect us and prepare us for immortality, and thus by degrees we become accustomed to hold and carry God[3]." It is an ascent, as by steps[4]: "through the Spirit we mount up to the Son and through the

[1] *Haer.* iii. 17. 2 qui nos aptaret Deo; v. 1. 2 in adunitionem et communionem Dei et hominis; v. 9. 1 emundat hominem et sublevat in vitam Dei.

[2] *Haer.* iii. 17. 3 commendante domino spiritui sancto suum hominem...dans duo denaria regalia ut per spiritum imaginem et inscriptionem patris et filii accipientes, fructificemus creditum nobis denarium, multiplicatum domino annumerantes.

[3] *Haer.* v. 8. 1 nunc autem partem aliquam a spiritu eius sumimus ad perfectionem et praeparationem incorruptelae, paullatim assuescentes capere et portare Deum; quod et 'pignus' dixit apostolus.

[4] Cf. iii. 24. 1.

Son to the Father[1]." "Not without the Spirit can the Word of God be seen, and not without the Son can the Father be approached; the Father can be known only through the Son, and the Son only through the Holy Spirit[2]." "The Spirit is," in a word, "that by which we partake of Christ...the ladder by which we ascend to God[3]." Thus, if the Spirit holds in one respect the lowest place in the work of human salvation, it is not the least important or necessary. He prepares man for the Son, who leads him to the Father[4]. Irenaeus attributes this great conception to the Elders who had been disciples of the Apostles[5], and the thought had perhaps been suggested to him in his early days by some survivor of the generation which immediately followed the Apostolic age; but the working out of this line of thought is evidently his own. Part I. v.

Irenaeus lays great emphasis upon the work of the Holy Spirit on individual members of Christ. "Where the Spirit of the Father is, there is a living man...without the Spirit of God we cannot be saved[6]." Believers in Christ "have salvation written in their hearts without paper and ink by the Spirit[7]." "Grant us," he prays, "through our Lord Jesus Christ the lordship (*dominationem*) also of the Holy Spirit[8]"—

[1] *Haer.* v. 36. 2.

[2] *Preaching*, c. 7.

[3] *Haer.* iii. 24. 1 communicatio Christi...scala ascensionis ad Deum.

[4] *Haer.* iv. 20. 5 spiritu praeparante hominem in filio (εἰς τὸν υἱόν?), filio autem adducente ad patrem.

[5] *Haer.* v. 9. 3.

[6] *Haer.* v. 36. 2.

[7] *Haer.* iii. 4. 2.

[8] *Haer.* iii. 6. 4; cf. v. 9. 4.

Part I. v.

an anticipation of the English collect for the nineteenth Sunday after Trinity. But he remembers that the Spirit is primarily given to the Body of Christ, and through the Church to individuals. Men who, like the Gnostic teachers, have no recourse to the Church, "defraud themselves of spiritual life; for where the Church is, there is also the Spirit of God, and where the Spirit of God is, there is the Church and all grace; for the Spirit is truth[1]." The possession of the Spirit, then, is a note of the Church, and conversely, the presence of the Church guarantees the presence of the Spirit. The practical conclusion is that "those who do not partake of the Spirit are neither nourished into life by the mother's breasts, nor drink of the sparkling spring that flows from the Body of Christ, but dig for themselves broken cisterns out of earthly trenches and drink foul water from the mire; fleeing from the Church's faith, lest they be convicted by it of error, and rejecting the Spirit, in order to escape being taught the truth[2]." Irenaeus is confident that the Catholic Church has the Spirit, and that those who desert her communion for the Gnostic sects lose not only her maternal care but the Spirit which through her is given to her children.

On the whole, as will be seen, the pneumatology of Irenaeus is a great advance on all earlier Christian teaching outside the canon. He does not use the term 'trinity,' but the Father, Son and Spirit form

[1] Cf. iv. 33. 9.

[2] *Haer.* iii. 24. 1 (ad fin.). Cf. iv. 20. 1, 33. 9.

in his theology a triad which is anterior and external to the creation. He does not speak of an eternal procession of the Son or the Spirit from the Father; his strong antagonism to the Gnostic doctrine of emanations leads him to think of the Son and the Spirit as inherent in the life of God rather than as proceeding from Him; as the 'Hands' of God rather than as His προβολαί. His controversy with Gnosticism leads him to dwell especially on the work of the Son and the Spirit in the creation and in man. Hence he distinguishes carefully not only the Persons but their modes of working: "the Spirit operates, the Son administers, the Father approves[1]." On the mission of the Holy Spirit or the Paraclete he is particularly full and clear. The Spirit was received from the Father by the Son, and by the Son sent into the world; the Word bestows the Spirit on all, as the Father wills. The Paraclete was given to the Church, and dwells in her members; He is "the water of life which the Lord bestows on those who believe on Him aright, and love Him[2]." It is from the Spirit of Christ that the Church breeds martyrs and spiritual men made anew in the image and likeness of God. It is the Spirit which will in the life to come perfect and glorify regenerate humanity. Irenaeus has on

[1] *Haer.* iv. 20. 6 spiritu quidem operante, filio vero ministrante, patre vero comprobante.

[2] *Haer.* v. 18. 2 verbum portatum a patre praestat spiritum omnibus, quemadmodum vult pater...ipse est aqua viva quam praestat dominus in se recte credentibus et diligentibus se.

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this point caught the inspiration of S. Paul more nearly than any of his predecessors or contemporaries. "If hearts of flesh are now capable of receiving the Spirit, what wonder if in the resurrection they receive the life which is in the gift of the Spirit[1]?" "If now that we have but the earnest of the Spirit we cry 'Abba, Father,' what shall be done when, rising again, we shall see Him face to face; when all the members of the Body shall utter the full song of triumph, glorifying Him who has raised them from the dead, and given them eternal life. For if the earnest, drawing human nature into itself, already makes it say 'Abba, Father,' what will the whole grace of the Spirit do, which men will then receive from God? It will make us like God, and perfect us according to the Father's will; for it will make man after the image and likeness of God[2]."

[1] *Haer.* v. 13. 4. [2] *Haer.* v. 8. 1.

VI.

MONARCHIANS AND ANTI-MONARCHIANS.

The Monarchians.

Towards the end of the second century the growing insistence on the unique relation to God of the Son and the Holy Spirit excited the suspicions of certain members of the Church whose chief interest lay in maintaining the Unity of God (ἡ μοναρχία). "The simple, not to say ignorant and uninstructed, who are always a majority among believers, are alarmed at the doctrine known as the Economy (ἡ οἰκονομία), because the rule of faith itself implies a transition from the many gods of the world to the one true God; and they do not understand that faith in the Unity is to be taken as including faith in the Economy. They assume that the number and order of the Trinity imply a division of the Unity, whereas a unity which evolves a trinity from itself is not impaired thereby but brought into administrative exercise. So they talk loudly of our preaching two or three Gods, and assume that they themselves are worshippers of the One God...'we,' they say, 'hold the Monarchy[1].'" So Tertullian writes early in the third century, and his words perhaps state accurately

[1] Tert. *adv. Prax.* 3.

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enough one chief cause of the popularity which was gained by the Monarchians[1]. The movement was partly at least a conservative reaction against the more definite theology which was taking shape in the mind of the Church, and which recognized a plurality of personal relations within the life of God.

The early Monarchians concerned themselves almost exclusively with the Person of Christ. How were the fact of Christ and the faith of the Church about Him to be reconciled with the unity of God?

(1) Psilanthropists and Dynamic Monarchians.

One school met the difficulty by a curt denial of the Godhead of the Lord, asserting that He was 'mere man' (ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος[2]), but miraculously born of a virgin, and endowed at the Baptism with supernatural gifts. This view was represented at Rome in the time of Bishop Victor (193—202) by Theodotus, a leather-merchant from Byzantium, and a little later by another Theodotus, a banker, and by others. These early Monarchians do not appear to have concerned themselves about the Holy Spirit, except that the first Theodotus identified Him with the Christ-Spirit, who was supposed to have descended on Jesus at the Baptism, and by whom Jesus wrought His miracles[3]; while the second spoke of

[1] For the name see *adv. Prax.* 10.

[2] Eus. *H. E.* v. 28.

[3] Hippol. *phil.* vii. 35 ὕστερον κεχωρηκέναι τὸν χριστὸν ἄνωθεν κατεληλυθότα ἐν εἴδει περιστερᾶς· ὅθεν οὐ πρότερον τὰς δυνάμεις ἐν αὐτῷ ἐνηργηκέναι ἢ ὅτε κατελθὸν ἀνεδείχθη ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ πνεῦμα, ὃ εἶναι τὸν χριστὸν προσαγορεύει.

a Power greater than Christ, which he called Melchizedek, and after whose image, he said, the Christ was formed[1]. An anonymous Roman writer quoted by Eusebius complains that this school was frankly rationalistic, treating Euclid and Aristotle with more respect than the Biblical writings, which they criticized and even adulterated in support of their views—an offence against the Author of Scripture, for "either they do not believe that the Holy Scriptures were spoken by the Holy Spirit, in which case they are unbelievers, or they account themselves wiser than the Holy Spirit[2]." In the eyes of the Catholic party these Monarchians had thrown off, together with their belief in the Deity of the Lord, the traditional doctrine that the Holy Spirit "spake by the Prophets." The whole story is in some respects a singular anticipation of later intellectual movements.

This form of Monarchianism reached its climax in the system of Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch from 260—269. Paul's Christology was more highly developed, but while he conceded an indwelling in Jesus Christ of an impersonal Word or Wisdom of God, he still refused to find a place in the life of God for a personal Son or Holy Spirit. He is said to have regarded the Holy Spirit as a Divine

[1] *Ibid.* 36 τοῦτον εἶναι μείζονα τοῦ χριστοῦ, οὗ κατ' εἰκόνα φάσκουσι τὸν χριστὸν τυγχάνειν. On the identification of Melchizedek with the Holy Spirit by Hieracas see p. 139.

[2] Eus. *l.c.* ἢ γὰρ οὐ πιστεύουσιν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι λελέχθαι τὰς θείας γραφὰς καὶ εἰσὶν ἄπιστοι· ἢ ἑαυτοὺς ἡγοῦνται σοφωτέρους τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ὑπάρχειν.

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property or faculty, and to have explained the Pentecostal effusion as a Divine influence shed upon the souls of believers[1]. But, generally speaking, the Spirit was ignored by the rationalistic Monarchians rather than denied; the interest of this school was centred on the attempt to explain the life of the Lord on purely unitarian principles.

(2) Modalistic Monarchians.

The other school, which was headed at Rome by Praxeas, Noetus, and Sabellius, warmly asserted its belief in the Deity of Jesus. When Noetus was charged with heresy by the Roman presbyters, he exclaimed, "Why, what harm am I doing? I am but glorifying Christ[2]." But his way of glorifying Christ was to identify Him with the Father. Christ, he said, was the Father Himself, but the Father generate and passible. The Father could be invisible or visible, ingenerate or generate, as it pleased Him; He was impassible, but He could and did, when He so willed, suffer and die. When He wills to be generate, visible, and passible, we know him as the Son[3]. When Epiphanius adds that Noetus spoke in like manner of the manifestation of the Father as the Holy Spirit[4], he is probably anticipating later developements of modalistic Monarchianism; there is no contemporary evidence

[1] Epiph. *haer.* lxv. 1 *φάσκει...ἐν θεῷ ἀεὶ ὄντα τὸν αὐτοῦ λόγον καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ ὥσπερ ἐν ἀνθρώπου καρδίᾳ ὁ ἴδιος λόγος.* Leont. Byz. *de sect.* 3 *πνεῦμα τὴν ἐπιφοιτήσασαν χάριν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις.*

[2] Hippol. *adv. Noet.* ad init. *τί οὖν κακὸν ποιῶ δοξάζων τὸν χριστόν;*

[3] Hippol. *phil.* x. 26, 27.

[4] Epiph. *haer.* lvii. 2 *τὸν αὐτὸν πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα.*

to shew that the early modalists took any interest in the subject; they were content to shelter themselves against the charge of ditheism by identifying the Father and the Son[1]. Both Hippolytus in his homily against Noetus, and Tertullian, writing against Praxeas, take occasion, it is true, to defend the Deity of the Spirit. But they do not charge their opponents with denying it, and it is possible that neither school of Monarchians would have entered on this ground if it had not been forced upon their attention by Catholic opponents[2]. It appears to have been Sabellius, another Roman modalist, who first realized the necessity of including the Holy Spirit in his scheme. While Sabellius clung to the identification of the Father and the Son, even inventing, it is said, the word Son-Father (*υἱοπάτωρ*) to enshrine this crude belief of his predecessors[3], he found a way to accept an economic trinity. Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, he taught, are names answering to three aspects of the one Divine hypostasis, like body, soul, and spirit in man, or like the three forces in the sun, its light, heat, and orb[4]. Or, borrowing an illustration from

[1] Hippol. *phil.* ix. 12 *οὐ γάρ, φησίν, ἐρῶ δύο θεούς, πατέρα καὶ υἱόν, ἀλλ᾽ ἕνα.*

[2] Praxeas seems practically to have identified the Spirit as well as the Son with the Father: see *adv. Prax.* 9, 27.

[3] Athan. *de syn.* 16.

[4] Epiph. *haer.* lxii. 1 *ὡς εἶναι ἐν μιᾷ ὑποστάσει τρεῖς ὀνομασίας ...ὡς ἐὰν ᾖ ἐν ἡλίῳ, ὄντι μὲν ἐν μιᾷ ὑποστάσει, τρεῖς δὲ ἔχοντι τὰς ἐνεργείας, φημὶ δέ, τὸ φωτιστικὸν καὶ τὸ θάλπον καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ τῆς περιφερείας σχῆμα.*

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St Paul's doctrine of the *charismata*, he urged that as "there are diversities of gifts but the same Spirit," so the Father can remain One and the Same and yet extend Himself into Son and Spirit[1]. The Divine hypostasis, he would say, is one, but Scripture speaks of it under different characters (*πρόσωπα*), as the occasion may require[2]. Each *prosopon* fulfils its office in succession. Each has its mission, and when that has been accomplished, returns to the Father. The Son's return to heaven has been followed by the mission of the Spirit, the purpose of which is to warm and quicken the spiritual life of men[3]. But when this mission is fulfilled, the Spirit will be withdrawn as the Son has been; a contraction of the Divine energy will follow the expansion, and the very name of Son and Spirit will cease to be heard when the occasion has passed away[4]. Thus, as Basil saw[5], the Sabellian trinity is but one thing under more than one character, and no place is left for a premundane existence of either Son or Holy

[1] Athan. *or. c. Arian.* iv. 25 *οὕτω καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὁ αὐτὸς μέν ἐστι... πλατύνεται δὲ εἰς υἱὸν καὶ πνεῦμα.*

[2] Basil. *ep.* 214. 2 *ἕνα μὲν εἶναι τῇ ὑποστάσει τὸν θεόν, προσωποποιεῖσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς γραφῆς διαφόρως κατὰ τὸ ἰδίωμα τῆς ὑποκειμένης ἑκάστοτε χρείας.* Cf. *ep.* 236.

[3] Epiph. *haer.* lxii. 1.

[4] Athan. *l.c. ἀνάγκη δὲ καὶ παυθήσεσθαι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος, τῆς χρείας πληρωθείσης.* The *πλατυσμός* will be followed by a *συστολή*, as it is called in the Clementine Homilies.

[5] Basil, *ep.* 210. 3 *ὁ γὰρ ἓν πρᾶγμα πολυπρόσωπον λέγων πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα...ἀρνεῖται μὲν τὴν προαιώνιον τοῦ μονογενοῦς ὕπαρξιν...ἀρνεῖται δὲ καὶ τὰς ἰδιαζούσας τοῦ πνεύματος ἐνεργείας.*

Spirit. The 'persons' are successive manifestations of God in human history, and not coexistent modes of His eternal life. Part I. vi.

How far this system was elaborated by Sabellius or his immediate disciples at Rome and in Libya during the third century is uncertain; some of the details may belong to a later period. But it seems clear that before the middle of the century the Holy Spirit had been included in the system of modalistic Monarchianism. Sabellianism henceforth recognized a trinity of 'persons,' which were however but temporary revelations of the one God.

The Anti-Monarchians.

It is time to consider how Monarchianism, in both its phases, was met by the teachers of the Church.

At Rome rationalistic or Ebionitic Monarchianism found little support. On the other hand the views of Praxeas, Noetus, and Sabellius were regarded with favour by more than one of the Bishops, who seem to have failed to distinguish them from the Catholic tradition. Praxeas, as Tertullian tells us[1], had sufficient influence with the Roman Bishop of his time to prevent him from recognizing the Montanistic churches. Bishop Zephyrinus, according to Hippolytus, declared publicly, "I know one God Christ Jesus, and besides Him none other, born and passible"; though at other times he would guard himself by saying, "It was not the Father that died but the Son[2]." His successor, Callistus, though he excommunicated Sabellius, allowed himself to use

[1] *Adv. Prax.* 1.

[2] Hippol. *phil.* ix. 11.

Part I. vi.

language which was nearly Sabellian; "The Father is not one thing, the Son another, but one and the same; all things above and below are full of the Divine Spirit[1]." Callistus found a determined opponent in Hippolytus, whose homily against Noetus survives as an important monument of the position taken up by the early Anti-monarchians. He sees that the Church cannot stop short of a doctrine which includes both the Son and the Spirit in the Unity of God. "Whether he will or nill," a Christian "must needs confess God the Father Almighty and Christ Jesus the Son of God, God made man, to whom the Father has subjected all things save Himself and the Holy Spirit, and that these are in fact three things....So far as regards the Divine power, there is One God, but as regards the 'economy,' the manifestation is threefold[2]....I will not speak of two Gods, but of one only; yet I will speak of two 'persons,' and, third in the order of 'economy,' the grace of the Holy Spirit. For the Father is one, but there are two persons, since there is also the Son; and the third, the Holy Spirit....He who commands is the Father, He who obeys is the Son, He who gives understanding is the Holy Spirit. The Father is over all, the Son through all, the Holy Spirit in all. In no other way can we hold One God, but by really believing in Father, Son, and Holy Spirit....

Hippolytus, *Against Noetus.*

[1] *Ib.* 12.

[2] Hippol. *adv. Noet.* 8 ἀνάγκην ἔχει καὶ ὁ μὴ θέλων ὁμολογεῖν... τούτους εἶναι ὄντως τρία....ὅσον μὲν κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν εἷς ἐστὶ θεός. ὅσον δὲ κατὰ τὴν οἰκονομίαν τριχῆς ἡ ἐπίδειξις.

Through this Trinity the Father is glorified; for what the Father wills, the Son translates into act, and the Spirit manifests[1]." It must be confessed that this, perhaps the earliest *apologia* for the Church doctrine of the Trinity, halts here and there; neither of the terms 'economy' and 'person,' which Hippolytus uses perhaps for the first time, suggests the existence of eternal relations in the life of God[2], and the Divine Unity appears to be secured by a subordinationism which it is difficult to reconcile with the essential equality of the persons. Perhaps the most important point made by Hippolytus is the inclusion of the Holy Spirit in the 'economy.' There is interest, also, in the offices which he assigns to the Spirit—that of enabling the human understanding to grasp the revelation of the Father's will which is made through the work of the Incarnate Son. Part I. vi.

The nearly contemporary treatise of Tertullian[3] *Against Praxeas* approaches the subject from another point of view, although, with Hippolytus, he starts Tertullian, *Against Praxeas.*

[1] Hippol. *adv. Noet.* 14 δύο μὲν οὐκ ἐρῶ θεοὺς ἀλλ' ἓν, πρόσωπα δὲ δύο, οἰκονομίᾳ δὲ τρίτην τὴν χάριν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. πατὴρ μὲν γὰρ εἷς, πρόσωπα δὲ δύο, ὅτι καὶ ὁ υἱός· τὸ δὲ τρίτον τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα. ...ὁ γὰρ κελεύων πατήρ, ὁ δὲ ὑπακούων υἱός, τὸ δὲ συνετίζον ἅγιον πνεῦμα....πατὴρ γὰρ ἠθέλησεν, υἱὸς ἐποίησεν, πνεῦμα ἐφανέρωσεν.

[2] Hippolytus justifies the Catholic doctrine on the ground that the economy, by which he appears to mean the course of the Divine self-revelation, leads to it: *ib.* οἰκονομίᾳ συμφωνία [?οἰκονομία συμφωνίᾳ: *al. lect.* συμφωνίας] συνάγεται εἰς ἕνα θεόν, i.e., the economy, by revealing the perfect harmony of the Divine life, brings us to the conclusion that God is one.

[3] Harnack places the *adv. Praxeam* c. 213—218 (*Chron.* ii. p. 286).

Part I. vi.

from the doctrine of the 'economy' and the 'persons.' His Montanism had brought the great African churchman, as he believed, into fuller and clearer views of the Catholic faith. "For ourselves," he writes, "as always so especially now since we have been more fully taught by the Paraclete who leads into all the truth, we believe in One God, but" we hold this faith "subject to" the interpretation placed upon it by "the Divine ordering of events[1] which we call the 'economy,' namely that the Only God has also a Son who is His own Word." Then follows a recital of the facts of the Incarnation, Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension into heaven, ending with the words: "Who sent thence (from the Father) according to His promise the Holy Spirit the Paraclete, the sanctifier of the faith of those who believe in Father, Son, and Holy Spirit[2]." Tertullian proceeds to inveigh against those who thought that belief in the Unity could not be maintained unless it were held that Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are one and the same; "as if all were not one so long as all are of one, namely by unity of substance, and the

[1] Similarly in the fourth century Gregory of Nazianzus accepts the *monarchia* with a guarding clause: *orat. theol.* iii. 2 μοναρχία δέ, οὐχ ἣν ἓν περιγράφει πρόσωπον...ἀλλ' ἣν φύσεως ὁμοτιμία συνίστησι καὶ γνώμης σύμπνοια καὶ ταὐτότης κινήσεως.

[2] Tert. *adv. Prax.* 2 nos vero et semper et nunc magis, ut instructiores per Paracletum, deductorem scilicet omnis veritatis... sanctificatorem fidei eorum qui credunt in patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum. The Holy Spirit in the Church is a vicaria vis (*praesc.* 13); the Paraclete is the 'vicarius domini' (*de virg. vel.* 1) as the Lord was the 'vicarius patris' (*adv. Marc.* iii. 6).

mystery of the economy may nevertheless be preserved, which arranges the Unity in a Trinity[1], setting in their order three, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit—three, however, not in condition but in relation, not in substance but in mode of existence, and not in power but in special characteristics; or rather, of one substance, one condition, and one power, inasmuch as it is one God from whom these relations and modes and special characteristics are reckoned in the name of Father Son and Holy Spirit[2]."

Even in this passage Tertullian, it is evident, has greatly the advantage of Hippolytus. He treads firmly where Hippolytus picks his way; he sees clearly in what respects the persons of the Son and the Spirit are distinct from the person of the Father, and wherein the three persons must be one; and he indicates the way in which, distinctions notwithstanding, unity may remain unbroken. The second of these points is laboured further on in the same treatise, where he adopts the bold course of borrowing a term from Valentinian Gnosticism. Valentinus spoke of his aeons as 'prolations' (*προβολαί*), and thought of them as separate existences, parted from the author of their being, and

[1] I follow here, almost word for word, Prof. Bethune-Baker's rendering (*Introduction to the Early History of Christian Doctrine*, p. 140).

[2] Tert. *l.c.* tres autem non statu sed gradu, nec substantia sed forma, nec potestate sed specie, unius autem substantiae et unius status et unius potestatis quia unus deus, ex quo et gradus isti et formae et species in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti deputantur.

Part I. vi.

even ignorant of him; whereas the Father the Son and the Spirit are inseparably one. But subject to this all-important distinction, the word may be used in a Catholic sense; the truth has its προβολή, as heresy claims to have, and the true προβολή guards the Unity. The Son was put forth by the Father yet not separated from Him, as the branch is put forth from the root, the river from the fountain head, the sun's rays from the sun, without being parted from their several sources. In each case the thing produced is a second object, and where there is a second, we can speak of two, or where there is a third, of three. "The Spirit is third from God and the Son, as the fruit from the shrub is third from the root, and the stream from the river is third from the fountain head, and the apex of the ray is third from the sun. Yet none of them is parted from the source from which it derives its properties. In like manner a Trinity which proceeds from the Father by closely connected relations is not in conflict with the 'Monarchy,' while it guards the condition on which the economy depends[1]." In a later chapter Tertullian adds: "Christ says that the Paraclete shall receive of Him, even as He Himself received of the Father. Such a linking together of the Father in the Son, and the Son in the Paraclete, results in three who

[1] Tert. *adv. Prax.* 8 tertius enim est spiritus a Deo et filio, sicut tertius a radice fructus ex frutice, et tertius a fonte rivus ex flumine et tertius a soli apex ex radio...ita trinitas per consertos et connexos gradus a patre decurrens et monarchiae nihil obstrepit et οἰκονομίας statum protegit.

cohere together, one from the other. The three are one thing, but not one person, as Christ said, 'I and the Father are one (ἕν ἐσμεν),' referring not to a numerical but a substantial unity[1]." Thus "the Holy Spirit, the gift of the Father poured forth by the ascended Christ, is a third name of Godhead, and a third relation of the Divine Majesty, the preacher of the one Monarchy, and, to him who accepts the words of the New Prophecy, the interpreter of the Economy and guide into all the truth which, as the mystery of the Catholic faith teaches, is to be found in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit[2]." Part I. vi.

If we do not owe this, the fullest ante-Nicene statement of the Holy Spirit's relation to the Father and the Son, to Montanistic inspiration, as Tertullian seems to imply, it is probably due to the influence of Montanism upon its most distinguished Western representative. How far Tertullian's position is in advance of Western Christian thought in general may be gathered by comparing it with that of another third century writer who has left us a treatise on the Trinity. Novatian's tract was written while he was still in communion with the Church[3], and it is in fact an exposition of the Roman Creed. But its doctrine of the Holy Spirit is still undeveloped. Thus he permits himself to write, "The Paraclete would not have received from Christ had He not been inferior

Novatian, *On the Trinity.*

[1] *Ibid.* 25 ita connexus patris in filio et filii in paracleto tres efficit cohaerentes alterum ex altero. qui tres unum sunt non unus ...ad substantiae unitatem non ad numeri singularitatem.

[2] *Adv. Prax.* 30.

[3] See Harnack, *Chron.* ii. p. 399.

Part I. vi.

to Christ...had Christ been only man, He would have received His teaching from the Paraclete, and not the Paraclete from Him[1]." Even in the chapter which deals directly with the third part of the Creed, there is no express recognition of the Godhead of the Spirit. On the office and work of the Holy Spirit Novatian is excellent. "Both logical order and the authority of the Creed warn us that our belief in the Son must be followed by belief in the Holy Spirit....The Spirit" promised "in the Gospel is not a new spirit, nor even newly given.... One and the same Spirit dwelt in the Prophets and in the Apostles[2]." Yet both the measure and the manner of His operations are different; given under the Old Testament to individuals and on occasions, under the New He has come to be with the Church for ever; distributed to the Prophets in sparing supplies, He was poured out on the Apostles in the fulness of His grace. Within the Church the Holy Spirit is the teacher of truth, the bestower of all spiritual gifts; He it is who gives man second birth in Baptism, who is the title-deed of our eternal inheritance, who inhabits the bodies of Christians and sanctifies their souls, and who brings them to the resurrection unto eternal life by uniting them with His own Divine eternity[3]. No passage in ante-

[1] Nov. *de trin.* 16 (24) quoniam nec Paracletus a Christo acciperet nisi minor Christo esset...si homo tantummodo Christus, a Paracleto Christus acciperet non a Christo Paracletus.

[2] *Ibid.* 29.

[3] *Ibid.* cum Spiritus sancti divina aeternitate sociati.

Nicene literature is more rich in the New Testament doctrine of the work of the Spirit, and if Novatian does not expressly call the Spirit God, he certainly ascribes to Him offices and properties which no creature can exercise. But speculation has no interest for his plain and somewhat narrow mind, which is concerned only with matters of faith that are necessary for the guidance of life; and in the history of Christian thought upon our subject his treatise is chiefly important as representing the attitude of a conservative Roman churchman in the middle of the third century.

VII.

THE CHURCH OF NORTH AFRICA.

Part I. vii.

Acts of Martyrs.

THE Christian literature of North Africa, like that of South Gaul, begins with Acts of Martyrs. Of the *Acts of Perpetua* mention has already been made in the chapters on Montanism. The *Acts of the Scillitan martyrs* are earlier; the martyrdom belongs to the year 180, and the simplest Latin form of the *Acts* may well be contemporary. It contains but one reference to the Holy Spirit: "thus all the martyrs were crowned together, and now they reign with Father, Son and Holy Spirit for ever and ever." These words, which bear incidental witness to the simple trinitarian faith of the African Church in the second century, have been abandoned by the later Latin recension and by the Greek version of the Acts in favour of forms more in accordance with current orthodoxy[1].

Tertullian.

Tertullian has already come before us as Montanist and anti-Monarchian. Here we shall limit ourselves to his pre-Montanistic and non-controversial

[1] See J. A. Robinson, *Texts and Studies*, I. 2, pp. 109 ff. For "the exquisite phrase 'regnant cum patre et filio et spiritu sancto'" we get "intercedunt pro nobis ad dominum nostrum I. C., cui honor et gloria cum patre et spiritu sancto," and in the Greek version, ᾧ πρέπει πᾶσα δόξα τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ζωοποιῷ πνεύματι.

works, in which he may be taken to represent the general tone of African Christianity. All these writings shew a sense of the great place which the Holy Spirit fills in the life of the Church. Thus in the *Apology*, one of his earliest books, he writes: "The heathen are mad with us for calling ourselves 'brethren'. Such names of blood-relationship are used by them to express a simulated affection. But how much more worthy of the title are those who have learnt to see in God their common Father, who have drunk of one Spirit of holiness and from the womb of a common ignorance have struggled into the same light of truth[1]!" Writing on the penitential system of the Church he argues that no Christian who has sinned and is called to make confession before the Church need shrink from doing so; for he is "among brethren and fellow-servants where all share each other's hopes and fears, joy, grief, or suffering, since all are animated by a common Spirit derived from a common Lord and a common Father[2]." To members of the Church who were called to martyrdom he writes: "You are about to enter the lists in a good fight, in which the living God is president, the Holy Spirit the trainer, and Christ your master, who has anointed you with the Spirit and brought you to the scene of conflict[3]." The double reference to the Spirit as at once the

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The Apology.

On Penitence.

To the martyrs.

[1] *Apologet.* 39. [2] *De paenitent.* 10.

[3] *Ad martyr.* 3 bonum agonem subituri estis, in quo agonothetes deus vivus est, xystarches spiritus sanctus...itaque epistates vester C. I. qui vos spiritu unxit et ad hoc scamma produxit etc.

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trainer of the Christian athlete and the unction which prepares him for the conflict deserves special notice; neither figure without the other sufficiently sets forth the debt which the martyr owed to the Paraclete.

On the Shows.

Christians who are attracted by the shows of the amphitheatre are bidden to remember that the Holy Spirit's finer nature is tender and sensitive, and calls for an atmosphere of gentleness and peace; He is not to be disquieted by passion or ill-will or anger or grief. How can such a nature accord with the sights of the amphitheatre? No spectacle can be witnessed without agitation of spirit; even the man who finds in it a sober and innocent pleasure such as his position or time of life or natural temperament may demand, cannot be altogether unmoved, nor escape without some inward perturbation, though he may not utter a sound[1]. Lastly, if a Christian has suffered some loss of worldly goods, let him beware of the impatience which comes from preferring earthly things to heavenly; "it is a direct sin against God, for it is to disturb, for the sake of a worldly possession, the Spirit which has been received from the Lord[2]."

On Patience.

Cf. *scorp.* 6; *de fuga* 1. As Oehler explains: "agonothetes distribuit praemia, xystarches quae sunt opus certaturis suppeditat... epistates certamini praeest." The terms were doubtless familiar to the citizens of Carthage.

[1] *De spect.* 15 Deus praecepit spiritum sanctum, utpote pro naturae suae bono tenerum et delicatum, tranquillitate et lenitate et quiete et pace tractare; non furore, non bile, non ira, non dolore inquietare. The thought reminds us of Hermas; cf. p. 26.

[2] *De patient.* 7.

Part I. vii. *On Baptism.*

Such words reveal an experience in which the work of the Holy Spirit fills a large place. But Tertullian's most important contribution to the early doctrine of the Spirit, next after his trinitarian theory in the book against Praxeas, is to be found in the treatise on Baptism. People are deceived, he says, by the simplicity of the external means which it pleases God to use in this Sacrament, and thus they fail to realize the greatness of the effect which is produced. They say that it is folly to speak of being made new by water. Let them remember how in the first creation water was thought worthy to be the resting-place of the Spirit of God. That was an anticipation of His future use of water in Baptism; from that original grant all waters derive the power of sanctifying, when the Divine power has been invoked upon them. At the invocation the Spirit descends upon the baptismal waters, sanctifying them from Himself; and being thus sanctified, they acquire the power to sanctify. Thus the waters are in a manner endued with healing power by angelic intervention, and the flesh is thereby spiritually cleansed[1]. Not that we receive the Holy Spirit in the waters; but we are cleansed therein under the hand of an angel[2], and so we are

[1] *De baptismo* 4 supervenit enim statim Spiritus de caelis et aquis superest, sanctificans eas de semetipso, et ita sanctificatae vim sanctificandi combibunt...igitur medicatis quodammodo aquis per angeli interventum, et spiritus in aquis corporaliter diluitur, et caro in eisdem spiritaliter mundatur.

[2] The idea is suggested by the 'western' text of Jo. v.

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prepared for the Holy Spirit. The angel that presides at Baptism thus makes ready the way of the Holy Spirit as John the Baptist made ready the way of the Lord[1]. The gift of the Spirit follows the baptismal immersion. "As soon as we have left the font we are anointed all over with consecrated oil... after that, the hand is laid upon us, invoking and inviting the Holy Spirit by way of benediction.... Then over the body thus cleansed and consecrated the most holy Spirit gladly comes down from the Father[2]." Thus the Church "seals the faith" of her converts "with the water" of Baptism and "clothes it with the Holy Spirit[3]." Montanism made no change in Tertullian's view of the relation of the Holy Spirit to Baptism, for in his book on the Resurrection of the flesh, written after his breach with the Church, he says: "The flesh is washed that the soul may lose its spots; the flesh is anointed that the soul may be consecrated; the flesh is sealed that the soul, too, may be fortified; the flesh is over-shadowed by the laying on of the hand, that the soul also may be enlightened by the Spirit[4]."

On prescriptions of heretics.

On the Resurrection of the Flesh.

[1] *De bapt.* 6 emundati sub angelo spiritui sancto praeparamur ...sic enim Ioannes ante praecursor domini fuit, praeparans vias eius.

[2] *Ib.* 7, 8 dehinc manus imponitur per benedictionem advocans et invitans spiritum sanctum...tunc ille sanctissimus spiritus super emendata et benedicta corpora libens a patre descendit.

[3] *De praescr.* 36.

[4] *De resurr. carnis* 8 caro manus impositione adumbratur, ut et anima Spiritu illuminetur.

In the next generation[1] Cyprian, who was proud to call Tertullian 'master' and made his works a daily study[2], pursues the same line of thought, and speaks of the Holy Spirit largely in connexion with Baptism and the baptismal rites. His own baptism, received in middle life[3], left a profound impression on his mind; the change which it made in him must be told in his own impressive words. "I was myself at one time entangled in the many errors of my former life and held so fast by them that it seemed impossible for me to be free. I acquiesced in the vices that clung to me, and in my despair of better things, I hugged my miseries as if they had been goods and chattels, and shewed them favour. But after the stain of my earlier life had been washed off by the help of the birth-wave, and a light from above poured itself upon my reconciled and cleansed breast—after I had drunk of the Spirit from heaven and a second birth had restored and made me a new man, at once in a marvellous fashion my doubts began to be set at rest, doors which had been shut against me were thrown open, dark places grew light; what had seemed hard before was now easy of accomplishment, and what I had thought impossible was now seen to be within my power. So that I could now recognize that that which was born after the flesh and lived in sin was of the earth, while that

To Donatus.

[1] Tertullian probably died soon after 222–3. Cyprian became Bishop of Carthage in 248–9.

[2] Hieron. *de viris ill.* 53.

[3] In 246; cf. Harnack, *Chron.* ii. p. 367 f.

Part I. vii. in me which the Holy Spirit was quickening had begun to be of God[1]."

Epistles. Such an experience explains the warmth with which Cyprian entered into the question of re-baptism raised by the Novatianist schism. In North Africa there was a tradition that schismatics returning to the Church must receive Catholic Baptism[2]. "Heretical baptism," so Tertullian had taught, "is not baptism at all, and cannot be allowed to count[3]." This view had been approved by a Council of African and Numidian bishops called by Agrippinus[4], one of Cyprian's predecessors at Carthage. At Rome the opposite practice had obtained, and Bishop Stephen readmitted Novatianists to the Church upon their submitting to the laying on of hands which was used at the reconciliation of penitents[5]. To Cyprian this appeared to be no mere question of discipline, but one that involved a vital difference. The Holy Spirit, he urged, was promised only to the Church; heretics and schismatics, seeing that they are not of the Church, have not the Spirit, and therefore cannot give it. But baptism with water without the Spirit is not Christian Baptism. "It is absurd to say that ...one can be born of the Spirit among heretics with whom the Spirit, it is agreed, has no place. Water alone cannot sanctify, unless it is accompanied by the Spirit[6]." In the words of another contemporary

[1] *Ad Donat.* 4.
[2] Benson, *Cyprian*, p. 335 ff.
[3] Tert. *de bapt.* 15.
[4] About 213 A.D. (Benson).
[5] Cypr. *epp.* 74 § 1, 4; 78 § 3.
[6] *Ep.* 74 § 5.

African bishop, "If heretics can baptize, they can also give the Holy Spirit; if they cannot give the Spirit since they have it not, neither can they give spiritual baptism[1]."

In the course of this controversy we have abundant opportunities of ascertaining Cyprian's view of the Holy Spirit's work in the Sacrament of Baptism. As in Tertullian's time, Baptism was followed immediately by two accessory rites, unction and laying on of the Bishop's hand. "It is necessary," Cyprian writes, "that the baptized be also anointed, that by receiving the 'chrism' or unction he may be God's anointed, and have the grace of Christ within him[2]." With Tertullian, Cyprian was disposed to connect the baptismal gift of the Spirit with the supplementary rites rather than with Baptism itself, and especially with the laying on of hands, by which the Holy Ghost was given in the Apostolic age[3]. "The same practice," he says, "prevails amongst us now; those who are baptized in the Church are brought to the rulers of the Church, that by our prayer and the imposition of our hand they may obtain the Holy Spirit and be perfected with the seal of the Lord[4]." So great a value does he attach to the post-baptismal laying on of the Bishop's hand that he speaks of it as necessary to a complete regeneration: "men

[1] *Sentent. episc.* 16. [2] *Ep.* 70 § 2.

[3] For a full discussion of this question see A. J. Mason, *The relation of Confirmation to Baptism* (1891). Dr Mason's view is contravened by Dr Wirgman, *The Doctrine of Confirmation* (1897).

[4] *Ep.* 73 § 9.

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can then only be fully sanctified and sons of God, if they are born of both sacraments[1]; since it is written, 'Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit he cannot enter into the kingdom of God[2].'" Confirmation, then, is, in Cyprian's judgement, the sacrament of the Spirit. This strange interpretation of S. John iii. 5 appears again among the opinions of the Bishops who met at Carthage in 256[3], so that it may have been the vogue in North Africa at the time. Cyprian himself seems to correct it elsewhere, when he says, "It is not by imposition of hands that a Christian is born; he is first born and then receives the Spirit, just as Adam was first created, and then God breathed into him the breath of life[4]." But even here the gift of the Spirit is connected, not with the sacrament of new birth, but with the subsequent rite. In another and perhaps earlier letter he speaks more cautiously: "it is through Baptism that the Holy Spirit is received, and those who are baptized and have obtained the Holy Spirit are admitted to drink of the Cup of the Lord[5]." Here, though the laying on of hands is doubtless included under the name of Baptism, the sharp contrast between the two acts is happily absent.

Pseudo-Cyprian, *On Re-baptism.*

Of Stephen's answer to Cyprian only a single sentence has been preserved, and it does not bear on our subject. But the irony of fate has placed

[1] I.e., Baptism and Confirmation. On *sacramentum* in Cyprian see *Studia Biblica*, iii. p. 253 f.

[2] *Ep.* 72 § 1. [3] *Sent. episc.* 5. [4] *Ep.* 74 § 7.

[5] *Ep.* 63 § 8. On the date see Harnack, *Chron.* ii. p. 348.

in the appendix to the works of Cyprian an able tract on Rebaptism which contests the African position. Though the writer is probably a member of the Roman Church, he does not start from Stephen's position; in some directions, in fact, he goes with Cyprian. He argues that water baptism and the Baptism of the Spirit are separable, and that each is valid, so far as it goes, without the other. Heretical baptism is simply water baptism, but it is good as such and need not be repeated. If it be asked what end such a baptism can serve, the answer is that its power lies in the Name of Jesus Christ invoked in the administration. It avails because of the Name, and needs only to be supplemented by the Baptism of the Spirit, which is given by the laying on of the Bishop's hand[1] when the heretic or schismatic makes his submission to the Church. The writer insists strongly on the ministry of the Bishop in bestowing 'spiritual baptism[2].' Yet he is freer than Cyprian from an unspiritual limitation of the Divine grace to an outward act performed by a human minister, and there are passages in his book which have no equal in African writings of this century for readiness to recognize the fact that the mercy of God is not tied to sacramental rites. "What thinkest thou, brother? If a man is not baptized by a Bishop so that he can receive the

[1] *De rebapt.* 10 tantummodo baptismate spiritali, id est, manus impositione episcopi et spiritus sancti subministratione subveniri debeat.

[2] *Ib.* 3 per manus impositionem episcopi datur unicuique credenti spiritus sanctus.

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imposition of hands immediately after baptism, and dies before he receives the Holy Spirit (in this rite), would you count him to have attained salvation or not?" He goes on to argue that an answer in the negative would be intolerable. "Any one of the Apostles might have been cut off by death before the Holy Spirit came....Many persons in these days leave the world after baptism but without imposition of hands; yet they would be held to be full Christians[1]. If it were otherwise, how tremendous would be the responsibility of the Bishop, at whose hands would be required the blood of those who through any remissness on his part had died without confirmation. But in fact the Book of Acts shews (x. 44 ff.) that persons may receive the Holy Spirit who have never been confirmed or even baptized[2]. And no one would dream of shutting out from salvation the martyr who has suffered before he could receive baptism[3]. The Lord has taught us most explicitly that the Holy Spirit has freedom and power to go where He will[4]. The Spirit accompanies baptism administered by men, or He goes before the act or follows it; or if baptism with water cannot be obtained, He falls on those who believe[5]." Yet the freedom of the Spirit's grace is not to be used as a plea for neglecting the means of grace or the customs of the Church. Baptism in the Name of Jesus Christ,

[1] *De rebapt.* 4. [2] *Ib.* 5. [3] *Ib.* 11. [4] Jo. iii. 8.

[5] *De rebapt.* 15 cohaeret baptismati hominum spiritus aut antecedit aut sequitur, vel cessante baptismate aquae incumbit super eos qui credunt.

by whomsoever given, is to be accepted and supplemented by the invocation of the Holy Spirit, in accordance with the time-honoured practice of our forefathers in the faith[1].

Though circumstances led Cyprian to express himself at length upon the Holy Spirit's work in Baptism, it must not be supposed that his interest in the doctrine of the Spirit was limited to this comparatively narrow field. He knew that the gift received in Baptism was a heritage which was to be guarded and diligently used by the baptized to his life's end. The early letter to Donatus, from which Cyprian's enthusiastic account of the effects of his own baptism has been already quoted, continues thus: "If thou adhere to the way of innocence and righteousness with footsteps firmly planted and unremitting; if, trusting in God with thy whole heart and strength, thou continue to be such as thou wast at the beginning, thou shalt receive freedom and power in proportion to thy growth in the grace of the Spirit. There is no measure or limit to the supply of God's gift, such as there usually is to earthly benefits; the Spirit, flowing freely, is not confined by any limits... it flows in an unbroken course, it overflows in rich abundance; only let our heart thirst for it, and lie open to it; in proportion to the capacity of the faith we bring to it is the inflow of grace that we draw into ourselves[2]." Elsewhere he writes: "The Spirit

[1] *Ib.* 15 custodita praeterea tanti temporis tot virorum veneranda nobis consuetudine et auctoritate.

[2] *Ad Donat.* 5.

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of Christ is not given by measure, but is poured upon the believer in all His fulness....The same spiritual grace is received equally by all the baptized, but afterwards it is either diminished or increased in the course of life by our own conduct[1]." It may even be lost altogether[2]. On the other hand, men may become 'full of the Holy Spirit,' as Cyprian more than once designates the martyrs. But he does not forget that the Holy Spirit who inspired the grace of martyrdom is not less needful and present in the ordinary life of believers. "Let us live," he urges, "as temples of God, so that it may be seen that the Lord dwells in us. Nor let our conduct fall short of the standards of the Spirit; we who have begun to be men of the Spirit and of heaven should think and do nothing but things that are of the Spirit and of heaven....It is our earnest prayer that we who have been sanctified in Baptism may continue in that which we have begun to be. We ask this daily, for we need a daily sanctification, that we who sin daily may cleanse our sins by a sanctification which is continually progressing[3]....Day and night we beg of God that His safe keeping may preserve in us

[1] *Ep.* 69. 14 spiritus sanctus non de mensura datur sed super credentem totus infunditur...plane eadem gratia spiritalis quae aequaliter in baptismo a credentibus sumitur in conversatione adque actu nostro postmodum vel minuitur vel augetur.

[2] *Ep.* 70. 2 quomodo potest spiritalia gerere qui ipse amiserit spiritum sanctum?

[3] *De domin. orat.* 11 f. The quotation is part of Cyprian's comment on the address and first petition of the Lord's Prayer.

the sanctifying quickening power which His grace imparts." Part I. vii.

Pseudo-Cyprian, *On Chastity.*

One passage from a pseudo-Cyprianic treatise, which may be of African origin and belong to the third century, deserves to be quoted here. The anonymous writer on the *Advantage of Chastity* urges the duty of purity on the ground that Christians are "the temple of the Lord, members of Christ, the dwelling-place of the Holy Spirit...sons of God, brethren of Christ, associates of the Holy Spirit (consortes spiritus sancti), owing nothing any more to the flesh, seeing that they have been born again of water[1]." These thoughts are not worked out, and it cannot be determined whether the writer would have held with Cyprian or with the author of the treatise on Rebaptism. But the writer's insistence on the baptismal gift of the Spirit, as the basis of an appeal for purity of life, is not unworthy of Cyprian and his age[2].

[1] *De bono pudicitiae* 2.

[2] The singular tract *De montibus Sina et Sion* has the early confusion between the preexistent nature of our Lord and the Holy Spirit (cc. 3, 13). See also the interesting doxology at the end of the first of the two *Orationes*, Hartel, *Cyprian*, iii. p. 146.

VIII.

THE CHURCH OF ALEXANDRIA.

Part I. viii. Clement of Alexandria.

THE intellectual atmosphere of Alexandria was less favourable than that of Rome or of Carthage to the rapid formulation of trinitarian doctrine. To men such as Clement and Origen speculation was more congenial than dogmatic precision. Clement, indeed, not infrequently refers to the Holy Trinity[1], but he does not either state the doctrine in formal terms or defend it against Monarchian objectors after the manner of Hippolytus or Tertullian. Of the Holy Spirit Clement speaks freely, and with much beauty, but with reference either to some passage of Holy Scripture or to the experience of the Christian life. Thus from the statement that Bezalel was filled with the Spirit of God he infers that artistic taste and skill are a gift from God[2].

[1] Cf. e.g. *Strom.* v. 14 § 104, where he maintains that in the *Timaeus* of Plato τὴν ἁγίαν τριάδα μηνύεσθαι, τρίτον μὲν γὰρ εἶναι τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, τὸν υἱὸν δὲ δεύτερον, δι' οὗ πάντα ἐγένετο κατὰ βούλησιν τοῦ πατρός—a doctrine scarcely more developed than Justin's (p. 36).

[2] *Strom.* i. 4 § 25 θεόθεν ἡ τεχνική.

Those who have been brought to believe in the Holy Spirit are called by St Paul 'spiritual men'[1]. But spiritual men differ in their gifts, for, as the Apostle says again, the Spirit divides to every man severally as He will. Yet He is not Himself divided, as if a portion of God were given to each[2]. Clement frequently refers to the gift of the Spirit as a fact of Christian experience. Though he is no Montanist, he recognizes fully the place of the Holy Spirit in the life of man, especially within the Church. "The Lord, of His love to mankind, invites all men to come to the knowledge of the truth, and has sent the Paraclete for that end[3]." "We who are baptized have the eye of the spirit, by which alone we can see God, free from obstruction and bright, the Holy Spirit flowing in upon us from heaven[4]." The Spirit blends and unites itself mysteriously with the human spirit, as wine with water; and the true gnostic, who earnestly strives to be spiritual, "is united to the Spirit through the love that knows no bounds[5]." The Spirit is the Holy Anointing Oil compounded of heavenly spices and prepared by the Christ for His friends[6]. It is the soul's jewellery, which decks it with the radiant colours of righteousness, practical

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[1] *Paed.* i. 6 § 36 πνευματικοὺς τοὺς πεπιστευκότας ἤδη τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι.

[2] *Strom.* iv. 21 § 134, v. 13 § 89. The Spirit is ἀμερῶς μεριζόμενον (vi. 16 § 138).

[3] *Protrept.* 9 § 85.

[4] *Paed.* i. 6 § 28.

[5] *Paed.* ii. 2 § 20; *Strom.* vii. 7 § 44 (Hort and Mayor's translation; cf. their note, p. 266 f.).

[6] *Paed.* ii. 8 § 65.

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wisdom, courage, self-control, love of all that is good, and modesty[1]. The more truly 'gnostic' a man becomes through righteous living, the nearer the bright Spirit of God draws to him[2]. As the magnet attracts iron, so the Holy Spirit attracts the soul to higher or lower mansions, according to personal character; only the evil fall to the ground[3]. The Spirit is the royal gold which, mingling with the other elements of our nature, makes Christians such as they are[4].

With the earlier Church writers Clement insists strongly on the inspiration of Scripture; "the Spirit bears witness by the mouth of Isaiah"—"the Holy Spirit which was in the Apostle says"—such are his customary formulas of quotation; the words of the Old and New Testaments are for him Divine commands in which the voice of the Spirit is heard[5].

Clement tells us that he proposed to write a book on Prophecy, against the Montanists, and that in this work and in another projected treatise on the Soul he intended to deal with the nature of the Holy Spirit, and the manner of the distribution of His gifts[6]. If these books ever were written their

[1] *Paed.* iii. 11 § 64.

[2] *Strom.* iv. 17 § 109.

[3] *Strom.* vii. 2 § 9; see Mayor and Hort's notes, p. 200.

[4] *Strom.* v. 14 § 99 Χριστιανῶν δὲ οἷς χρυσὸς ὁ βασιλικὸς ἐγκαταμέμικται, τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα.

[5] *Paed.* i. 5 § 15, *Strom.* vii. 16 § 99.

[6] See *Strom.* i. 24 § 158, iv. 13 § 93, v. 13 § 89 ὅπως δὲ ἡ διανομὴ αὕτη καὶ ὅτι ποτέ ἐστιν τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐν τοῖς περὶ προφητείας κἀν τοῖς περὶ ψυχῆς ἐπιδειχθήσεται ἡμῖν. Cf. Harnack, *Gesch. der altchr. litt.* i. p. 308.

disappearance is to be deplored, for they would have given us a strong presentation of the anti-Montanist case to set over against Tertullian's eager defence of Montanism. But it may be doubted whether they would have added much to Clement's teaching on the general subject which is to be found in the *Paedagogus* and the *Stromateis*. Part I. viii.

The bolder genius of Origen led him into speculations which were foreign to the mind of his predecessor, and nowhere has he pushed his enquiries further than in reference to the relation which the Spirit bears to the Father and the Son. His first discussion of this question occurs in the second 'tome' of his commentary on St John, written while he was still at Alexandria, i.e., not later than A.D. 231[1]. Starting with the words, 'All things were made by him[2],' he faces the question whether the Holy Spirit is to be included in this category. "Assuming the words to be true, we have to ask ourselves whether the Holy Spirit was made (ἐγένετο) by the Word." "I think," he replies, "that if you say the Holy Spirit is made (γενητόν), and admit that all things were made by the Word, you must perforce accept the inference that the Holy Spirit was made by the Word, and that the Word is the elder of the two. The alternative is to call the Spirit 'ingenerate' (ἀγέννητον). A third course indeed is open to you—to deny that the Holy Spirit has any personal existence other than that of the Father and the

Origen.

On St John.

[1] Eus. *H. E.* vi. 24.

[2] *In ev. Ioann.* t. ii. 10.

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Son[1]." That is the Monarchian way of escaping from the dilemma. "We—Catholic Christians—being convinced that there are three hypostases in God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and believing that nothing is ingenerate (*ἀγέννητον*) except the Father, must admit as more reverent and as true the answer which places the Holy Spirit in the category of things made by the Father through the Son, although in honour He is above them all." "Perhaps," Origen adds, "this is the reason why He is not called 'Son of God,' the Only-begotten alone being Son by nature and from the beginning; whereas the Holy Spirit needs, as it seems, the Son's ministrations in order to be what we must suppose Him to be—wise and rational and righteous, and all else that is implied by participation in the mind of Christ. I conceive then of the Holy Spirit as supplying to those who, because of His presence and their participation in Him, are called 'saints,' the material, so to speak, of the gifts of grace that come from God; this material being wrought from God, ministered by Christ, and existing personally in the Holy Spirit[2]."

Origen anticipates objections. If the Spirit was made by the Word, how comes it that in certain passages of Scripture greater honour seems to be

[1] *μηδὲ οὐσίαν τινὰ ἰδίαν ὑφεστάναι τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος παρὰ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱόν.*

[2] *οἶμαι δὲ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα τὴν (ἵν' οὕτως εἴπω) ὕλην τῶν ἀπὸ θεοῦ χαρισμάτων παρέχειν τοῖς δι' αὐτὸ καὶ τὴν μετοχὴν αὐτοῦ χρηματίζουσιν ἁγίοις, τῆς εἰρημένης ὕλης ἐνεργουμένης μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, διακονουμένης δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ χριστοῦ, ὑφεστώσης δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα.*

paid to the Spirit than to the Son? He answers that such passages refer to the Incarnate Son, who was made a little lower than the Angels. If the Gospel according to the Hebrews calls the Holy Spirit the mother of Jesus[1], this is not more strange than the Lord's saying in the canonical Gospels, "Whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is my mother," where there is certainly no suggestion that such persons are to be honoured above Christ or equally with Him. In one of the later books on St John[2] Origen seems however to teach that the Son and the Spirit are worthy of equal honour and equally far above the creation, though he subordinates them both alike to the Father, and the Spirit to the Son[3]. Both surpass the creatures with a superiority which exceeds all bounds, yet they are surpassed by the Father as much or even more. Part I. viii.

Against the subordinationism of Origen's commentary on St John, where he gives the rein to his habit of interrogating with absolute freedom the words which he desires to expound, it is fair to set the definitely Catholic teaching of another of his greatest works, the treatise *On First Principles*, which also belongs to his earlier Alexandrian days. Here he measures his words and keeps within the bounds of ecclesiastical tradition. This tradition, he admits, represented the Holy Spirit as "associated *On First Principles.*

[1] See *Holy Spirit in the N.T.*, p. 50. [2] *In Ioann.* t. xiii. 25.

[3] Cf. *in Ioann.* t. ii. 10 ἀναγκαῖον παραδέξασθαι ὅτι καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα διὰ τοῦ λόγου ἐγένετο, πρεσβυτέρου παρ' αὐτὸ τοῦ λόγου τυγχάνοντος.

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in honour and dignity with the Father and the Son," though it did not decide whether He was to be regarded "as generate or ingenerate, or as being Himself also a Son of God[1]." Two entire chapters (i. 3, ii. 7) are given to the discussion of the doctrine of the Spirit. In the forms of Baptism, he begins, the Holy Spirit is named with the Unbegotten Father and the Only-begotten Son. No Scripture speaks of Him as a creature (*ποίημα*, *κτίσμα*). So awful is the majesty of the Spirit that he who blasphemes Him has no forgiveness, either in this world or in the world to come. With regard to the work of the Holy Spirit it is preeminently that of sanctifying the rational creatures of God. As they derive their existence from the Father, and their rational nature from the Word, so their holiness, if they are holy, is from the Holy Spirit. It is by this means that rational creatures are brought to their perfection and may at last attain to the vision of God. Thus while the work of the Father and the Son extends to the whole creation, the Holy Spirit is bestowed only on the saints[2]. Yet let it

[1] *De princ.* i. praef. 4 honore ac dignitate patri ac filio sociatum tradiderunt spiritum sanctum. in hoc non jam manifeste discernitur utrum natus an innatus (*γεννητὸν ἢ ἀγέννητον*: Jerome "factus an infectus"? = *γενητὸν ἢ ἀγένητον*), vel filius etiam Dei ipse habendus sit.

[2] *De princ.* i. 3. 5 arbitror ergo operationem quidem esse patris et filii tam in sanctis quam in peccatoribus, in hominibus rationalibus et in mutis animalibus, sed et in his quae sine anima sunt...in illis solis arbitror esse opus spiritus sancti qui iam se ad meliora convertunt.

not be supposed that a preference is thereby given to the Holy Spirit, or that His dignity is greater than that of the Father and the Son. In the Trinity nothing can be said to be greater or less, nor can there be any separate action; the gift of the Spirit is revealed through the Son, and works through the Father; Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, three in person and operation, are one in essence and life[1]." In the summary at the end of the fourth book we are warned that all that is said of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit must be understood as transcending time and eternity itself; that there is nothing which has not been made except the nature of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; that this nature is incorruptible and eternal[2].

There is an apparent inconsistency between these statements and the discussion of the Spirit's origin in the commentary on St John. But it vanishes or is greatly diminished when we remember that even in the *De Principiis* Origen regards the question of the Spirit's mode of existence as one of those which had been left open by the Church. One who loyally accepted all that the Church taught might nevertheless fairly ask whether the Holy Spirit was to be regarded as 'generate' (γεννητός)[3] like the Son, or

[1] *De princ.* i. 3. 7 nihil in trinitate maius minusve dicendum est ...nulla est in trinitate discretio.

[2] *De princ.* iv. 28, 35.

[3] On the terms γεννητός γενητός, ἀγέννητος ἀγένητος the reader may consult Lightfoot, *Ignatius*, ii. p. 90 f.; Bethune-Baker, *Introduction*, p. 122 n. Suicer has collected much material *s.v.* ἀγέννητος.

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'ingenerate' (ἀγέννητος) like the Father; and if He is neither, whether He must not be classed with the γενητά, that are made or derive their existence through the action of the Word. In this enquiry Origen was in fact feeling his way to the later doctrine of the Procession. Refusing to use with Tertullian the Gnostic term 'prolation' (προβολή)[1], he sees before him the alternative of attributing to the Holy Spirit a filial relation to God such as Scripture ascribes to the Word, or, if He is not a Son, placing Him among the γενητά in the sense that though His nature is Divine and therefore 'increate,' His person had its origin in the action of the Word. That such an origination must be wholly different in kind from the genesis of the creatures is not sufficiently realized in the commentary on St John. Had Origen lived a century and a half later, he would doubtless have said with the best Greek theologians that the Spirit proceeded eternally from the Father through the Son[2]. But he suffers from the lack of terms and definitions which besets theologians who are ahead of their age, and the boldness of his attempt to anticipate has exposed him to a charge of heresy from which his more guarded pronouncements ought to have defended him.

Of the personality of the Holy Spirit Origen

[1] *De princ.* iv. 28.

[2] The procession of the Spirit from the Father is taught in *de princ.* i. 2, iii. 5; and it is treated as parallel with and analogous to the generation of the Son (*ib.* ii. 1).

speaks with no uncertain voice. Writing on St John iii. 8[1], he says, "This shews that the Spirit is an Essence. He is not, as some suppose, a Divine Energy, having (as they pretend) no distinctive personal existence." And with regard to the presence and work of the personal Spirit of God in the Christian life he has much to tell us out of his own varied experience. "We pray," so he speaks to the heathen Celsus in a passage thought worthy of being repeated in the *Philocalia*[2], "that the light of the knowledge of the glory of God may shine in our hearts, the Spirit of God resting on our imagination and enabling us to imagine the things of God." "God," he says again to the objector, "is ever distributing to those who are able to partake of Him His own Spirit, who dwells in those that are worthy of His presence[3]." "It is thus," he adds in the *De Principiis*[4], "that by the unceasing work towards us of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, carried through successive stages of progress, we are able (if it may be so) to behold the holy and blessed life of the saints." Meanwhile "the Spirit that cries in the hearts of the blessed 'Abba, Father,' intercedes for us with God with groanings that cannot be uttered." ..."Our minds cannot pray, unless the Spirit prays

[1] Ed. Brooke, ii. p. 252 (*fragm.* 37): σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο καὶ οὐσίαν εἶναι τὸ πνεῦμα· οὐ γάρ, ὥς τινες οἴονται, ἐνέργειά ἐστι θεοῦ, οὐκ ἔχον κατ' αὐτοὺς ὑπάρξεως ἰδιότητα.

[2] *C. Cels.* iv. 95, *Philocal.* ed. Robinson, p. 147 ἐπιδημοῦντος ἡμῶν τῷ φανταστικῷ καὶ φαντάζοντος ἡμῖν τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ.

[3] *C. Cels.* vi. 70.

[4] i. 3. 8; cf. *ib.* 4.

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first, as if in response to them"; "the Spirit intercedes, we pray[1]." It is the Spirit, too, who interprets to us the Scriptures which He inspired; "Knock at the closed door and it shall be opened to thee by the Porter, of whom Jesus spoke....Be not content to knock and seek; ask, and it shall be given to you....Whether this advice is good or not, God knows, and His Christ, and he who partakes of the Spirit of God and the Spirit of Christ. Mayest thou also partake, and ever increase thy participation, that thou mayest say 'We are become partakers of Christ, and not only of Christ but of God[2].'" Of the work of the Spirit in the Sacrament of Baptism Origen speaks as Tertullian or Cyprian might have spoken. Christian Baptism "is named the washing of Regeneration, being accompanied by the renewing of the Spirit, who still broods over the water." "But," he adds with characteristic frankness, "the Spirit does not abide in all after the water[3]." And it is the actual indwelling of the Holy Spirit in believers, the daily experience of His presence in prayer, in the study of Holy Scripture, in fellowship with Christ and with God, that arrests the attention of the great Alexandrian teacher.

Origen was a keen opponent of modalistic Monarchianism in its earlier forms[4]. But it was not until after his departure from Alexandria, or perhaps until after his death, that the attention of the Alexandrian

[1] *De orat.* 2, 14.
[2] *Ep. ad Gregor.* 3.
[3] *In Joann.* t. vi. 33.
[4] Cf. Harnack, *History of Dogma* (E.T.) iii. p. 83 f.

Church was drawn to the great outbreak of Sabellianism in the neighbouring Church of the Pentapolis. Dionysius, Origen's pupil and successor in the Catechetical School, who was Bishop of Alexandria from 247, took a foremost part in the controversy, and his attitude towards it has an important bearing upon the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. Eusebius has preserved[1] a fragment of a letter addressed by Dionysius to Sixtus II. of Rome (257–9), in which the Bishop of Alexandria informs the Bishop of Rome of the troubles in Cyrenaica, and denounces the Sabellian doctrine as shewing "not only much unbelief in the Only-begotten Son, but the absence of any right feeling (*ἀναισθησίαν*) about the Holy Spirit." But besides reporting the matter to the Roman Bishop, Dionysius, as the chief bishop in Egypt and the neighbouring countries[2], wrote to certain bishops in the affected district, to condemn the movement. These persons, stung by his letters, appealed to Dionysius, a namesake of the Bishop of Alexandria who had meanwhile succeeded Sixtus at Rome, charging the Alexandrian Dionysius with heretical opinions on the person of the Son. The Son, they said, was represented by him as a creature, non-existent until He was made[3]. Of the Holy Spirit

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Dionysius of Alexandria and Dionysius of Rome.

[1] *H. E.* vii. 6. Cf. Feltoe, *Letters of Dionysius*, p. 51 f.

[2] Cf. Conc. Nicaen. can. 6 *τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατείτω τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Λιβύῃ καὶ Πενταπόλει ὥστε τὸν τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπον πάντων τούτων ἔχειν τὴν ἐξουσίαν*, with Bright's note (*Canons*, p. 20 f.).

[3] Dionysius of Alexandria was said to hold that the Son *οὐκ ἦν πρὶν γενηθῇ ἀλλ' ἦν ποτὲ ὅτε οὐκ ἦν*. See Feltoe, *op. cit.* p. 185.

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nothing was said at this stage, so far as we know; but as the Spirit had a definite place in the Sabellian system, it was impossible that His relation to God should remain undiscussed. Accordingly, the Spirit comes into view both in the synodical letter which Dionysius of Rome now addressed to the Alexandrian Church, and in the reply of Dionysius of Alexandria[1]. The subject is treated by the Roman and the Alexandrian Bishops with characteristic differences. "I learn (writes the Roman Dionysius) that some of your teachers, in their extreme opposition to the views of Sabellius, divide the Unity into three Powers, separated persons, and even three Godheads." "Whereas," he continues, "the Divine Word must needs be united to the God of all, and the Holy Spirit must needs love to dwell and live in God[2]. Further, it is absolutely necessary that the Divine Trinity be summed up and gathered into One[3], as its Head—I mean, into the God of all, the Almighty; otherwise we shall revert to Marcion's diabolical doctrine of Three Principles....We must not then divide the Divine Unity into three Godheads..., but hold fast by our faith in God the Father Almighty, and in Christ Jesus His Son, and in the

Dionysius of Rome.

[1] Portions of these documents are preserved in Athanasius, *de decr. Nic. syn.* 26, and *de sent. Dionys.* passim. They are collected by Feltoe, *op. cit.* p. 176 ff.

[2] ἐμφιλοχωρεῖν δὲ τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐνδιαιτᾶσθαι τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα.

[3] τὴν θείαν τριάδα εἰς ἕνα ὥσπερ εἰς κορυφήν τινα...συνκεφαλαιοῦσθαί τε καὶ συνάγεσθαι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη. Cf. Hippol. *c. Noet.*, cited above, p. 103.

Holy Spirit...[1]; for in this way we shall preserve both the Divine Trinity and the holy preaching of the Monarchy." Part I. viii.

This is, as Harnack has well said[2], a characteristic letter in more ways than one. It represents the traditional attitude of the Roman Bishop towards the Monarchian controversy, averse to Sabellian confusion but still more averse to what he regarded as a tendency to tritheism; holding fast to the Roman creed and to the 'Monarchy,' but refusing to face the intellectual problems involved in the attempt to reconcile the Monarchy with the Trinity. The only approach to a solution which the Roman Bishop has to offer is contained in the two statements that the Logos must be inseparable from God whose Word He is, and that the Spirit of God cannot but be permanently inherent in the Divine life. But he fails altogether to understand the ideas which Dionysius had inherited from Origen, and suspects his Alexandrian namesake of tritheism and even of being virtually a follower of Marcion.

Dionysius of Alexandria, *Refutation and Apology.*

The Bishop of Alexandria could not remain silent under this implied censure, and the fragments of his *Refutation and Apology* sufficiently shew his general lines of defence. He denies, of course, that he has any leaning to tritheism, or any desire to divide the Indivisible. The Three cohere inseparably. "I name the Father, and before I have introduced the Son, His existence has been indicated

[1] Cf. the Roman Creed (Hahn-Harnack, p. 24 f.).

[2] *History of Dogma*, E.T. iii. p. 92 f.

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by the mention of the Father. I introduce the Son, and if I had not already spoken of the Father, He would have been presupposed in the word 'Son.' I add 'Holy Ghost,' and by doing so, I raise the question of His source and mission[1]. My critics do not realize that the Father *qua* Father cannot be estranged from the Son, for the very name involves their conjunction; or the Son parted from the Father, for the title 'Father' points to fellowship. And in Their hands is the Spirit, which cannot be separated in thought from Him who sends or from Him who brings It into the world[2]. How can I who use these names, 'Father,' 'Son,' and 'Holy Spirit,' suppose the Persons they represent to be divided and wholly separate from each other?" "So," he adds with an air of one who has triumphed over his adversary,—"we for our part 'extend' the Unity into the Trinity without separation, and again 'sum up' the Trinity in the Unity without diminution[3]." But the answer could hardly have satisfied Dionysius of Rome, though it adopts one of his own phrases. The two Bishops were in fact at cross purposes, for to the Roman 'hypostasis' conveyed the idea of a separate life, while in the opinion of the Alexandrian it merely safeguarded the distinctness of the

[1] ἅγιον πνεῦμα προσέθηκα, ἀλλ' ἅμα καὶ πόθεν καὶ διὰ τίνος ἦκεν ἐφήρμοσα.

[2] ἔν τε ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτῶν ἐστὶ τὸ πνεῦμα, μήτε τοῦ πέμποντος μήτε τοῦ φέροντος δύναται στέρεσθαι.

[3] οὕτω μὲν ἡμεῖς εἴς τε τὴν τριάδα τὴν μονάδα πλατύνομεν (a Sabellian word) ἀδιαίρετον, καὶ τὴν τριάδα πάλιν ἀμείωτον εἰς τὴν μονάδα συγκεφαλαιούμεθα (the verb used by Dionysius of Rome).

persons. And besides this difference in the use of terms the Alexandrian Bishop was constitutionally further from the Sabellian position than the Roman, and nearer to that which ultimately hardened into Arianism. Yet that Dionysius of Alexandria had no sympathy with low views of the Person of Christ is clear from his subsequent attitude towards Paul of Samosata[1]; and that he was ready to give Divine honour to the Holy Spirit appears from the doxology with which his Apology concluded: "to God the Father and the Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Holy Spirit, be glory and might for ever and ever[2]."

There is little that bears upon our subject in the other fragments of Dionysius. His sense of the importance of the Spirit's work appears in his condemnation of Novatian for having "completely banished the Holy Spirit from hearts where there was some hope that He might still linger, or to which He might have returned[3]." This is not the place to speak of Dionysius as a Biblical critic. But an interesting light is thrown on his view of the inspiration of the Gospels, if a comment on certain differences between Mark xiv. 36 and Luke xxii. 42, attributed to him in some MSS.[4], may be taken as genuine. "The Holy Spirit," he is made

[1] Eus. *H. E.* vii. 27.

[2] Cf. Basil, *de spiritu sancto*, c. 29 § 72.

[3] Eus. *H. E.* vii. 8 *τό τε πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰ καί τις ἦν ἐλπὶς τοῦ παραμεῖναι ἢ καὶ ἐπανελθεῖν πρὸς αὐτοὺς παντελῶς φυγαδεύοντι.* See Dr Feltoe's note, p. 56.

[4] Cod. Ven. 494, and Cod. Vat. 1611.

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to say, "distributed among the Evangelists, puts together from the utterances of each a complete record of our Saviour's disposition"[1]; i.e., each of the Gospels, according to the measure of the Spirit bestowed on its author, makes its own contribution towards the sum of our knowledge of the Lord's human character.

Theognostus.

Theognostus, who appears to have succeeded Dionysius[2] in the headship of the School when the latter became Bishop of Alexandria, was the author of a book of *Outlines* (ὑποτυπώσεις), the scope of which seems to have corresponded with that of Origen's work on First Principles. The third section dealt with the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, and under this head, according to Photius, into whose hands the book had come, Theognostus endeavoured to shew that the Spirit has personal subsistence; but in other respects he "wrote as wildly as Origen does in the *De Principiis*[3]." Perhaps this must be taken to mean that he revived Origen's speculations about the genesis of the Spirit. Photius

[1] Feltoe, p. 234: τὸ οὖν πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον εἰς τοὺς εὐαγγελιστὰς κατανεμηθὲν τὴν πᾶσαν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν διάθεσιν ἐκ τῆς ἑκάστου φωνῆς συντίθησιν. The attributions of the catenae are always open to question unless the citations can be traced; but this sentence has an Alexandrian ring, and is worthy of the great Dionysius. See however Feltoe, p. 229 ff.

[2] Cf. Harnack, *Chron.* ii. 67 ff. In his (earlier) *History of Dogma* he makes Theognostus follow Pierius (E.T. iii. 96).

[3] Phot. *biblioth.* cod. 106 τὴν τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος ὕπαρξιν δεικνύειν ἀποπειρώμενος, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὥσπερ Ὠριγένης ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἀρχῶν οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸς ἐνταῦθα παραληρεῖ.

does not quote the words used, but two fragments preserved by Athanasius[1] throw light on some minor points connected with Theognostus's doctrine of the Holy Spirit. Discussing the blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, and holding with Origen that it is to be understood in reference to falling away from grace after Baptism, he adds, "He who has passed the first and the second boundary line, may be counted worthy of less punishment; but he who has made light of the third also can no longer find forgiveness[2]"; meaning, according to Athanasius, that the catechumen who has had only some preliminary instruction in the doctrine of the Father and the Son has less responsibility than the same person when at Baptism and Confirmation[3] he has received further teaching about the Holy Spirit. Theognostus then quotes John xvi. 12 f., remarking: "The Saviour discoursed with the disciples as with men who were not yet able to receive the full truth, condescending to the meanness of their understanding; but the Holy Spirit holds intercourse with those who are being perfected[4]." "Yet," he continues, "no one on this ground can maintain that the teaching of the Spirit excels the teaching of the Son; rather it should be said that while the Son condescends to

[1] *Ad Serap.* iv. § 11.

[2] ὁ πρῶτον παραβεβηκὼς ὅρον καὶ δεύτερον ἐλάττονος ἂν ἀξιοῖτο τιμωρίας· ὁ δὲ καὶ τὸν τρίτον ὑπεριδὼν οὐκέτι ἂν συγγνώμης τυγχάνοι. There is perhaps a reference to Exod. xix. 12 ἀφοριεῖς τὸν λαόν: *ib.* 23 ἀφόρισαι τὸ ὄρος.

[3] ἐπὶ τῇ τελειώσει καὶ τῇ τοῦ πνεύματος μετοχῇ.

[4] τοῖς τελειουμένοις.

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the uninitiated, the Spirit is the seal of those who are in a state of initiation[1]. So it is not because of any superiority of the Spirit over the Son that blasphemy against the Holy Spirit is a sin from which there is no escape and for which there is no pardon; but because, while there is pardon for the uninitiated, for those who have tasted of the heavenly gift and have been initiated[2], there remains no plea or excuse to justify pardon in their case." With Origen Theognostus is at pains to shew that the Holy Spirit is not superior to the Son. But on the other hand he does not subordinate the one to the other; with Origen he would probably have said that in the Trinity there is neither greater nor less[3].

Pierius.

The account which Photius gives of Pierius, who seems to have succeeded Theognostus as master of the catechetical school, is less satisfactory. "Concerning the Holy Spirit his teaching is very dangerous and irreverent, for he pronounces the Spirit to be inferior in glory to the Father and the Son[4]." Unfortunately this serious charge is not supported by a single quotation, unless the last few words are to be so regarded. Jerome speaks of Pierius being known as 'the younger Origen,' because of the

[1] τοῖς ἀτελέσι, τοῖς τελειουμένοις, i.e., the unbaptized catechumens, the baptized.

[2] τοῖς ἀτελέσι, τοῖς τελειωθεῖσιν.

[3] For a fuller account of the teaching of Theognostus see Dr Radford's *Three teachers of Alexandria*, p. 20 ff.

[4] Phot. *biblioth.* cod. 119 ὑποβεβηκέναι γὰρ αὐτὸ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ ἀποφάσκει δόξης.

excellence of his style[1]; if he followed the master also in the details of his teaching, he may have laid stress upon the genesis of the Spirit, as Origen had done, or dwelt upon the limitation of the Spirit's work to a narrower sphere than that in which the Father and the Son operate[2]. Either of these positions would have appeared to Photius to be both dangerous and irreverent. That an Alexandrian teacher of the third century went further in the direction of Arianism is on all grounds improbable.

On the whole the Church and School of Alexandria in the third century contributed not a little to the clearing and quickening of Christian thought upon the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. If the results are less definite than those which come to us from North Africa, they go deeper, and their scope is less limited. It was by Origen rather than by Tertullian that the way was opened to the fuller discussion of the theology of the Spirit upon which the fourth century entered. The one weak point in the early Alexandrian doctrine was that on which Dionysius of Rome laid his finger: the tendency to think of the Three Hypostases as separate subsistences; and, as a consequence, to subordinate unduly the Second Person to the First, and the Third to the Second. But this was as yet a tendency only, and one which was sincerely deprecated by the Alexandrian teachers, whose conscious purpose was to resist the Sabellian confusion of the Persons without abandoning the unity of the Divine life.

[1] *De vir. illustr.* 76 Origenes iunior. [2] Cf. Radford, p. 52.

IX.

OTHER ANTE-NICENE WRITERS AND DOCUMENTS.

Part I. ix.

Church in Asia Minor.

Of the Church in Asia Minor since the outbreak of Montanism nothing has been said hitherto. During the third century it produced no school or succession of Christian thinkers and teachers who can be compared with those of Alexandria and North Africa. There are, however, some isolated writers of eminence who belong to Asia, and whose attitude towards the doctrine of the Holy Spirit deserves attention.

Firmilian.

Among the letters of Cyprian there is a translation of a letter from Firmilian, Bishop of Neo-Caesarea in Cappadocia, to whom Cyprian had applied for counsel on the question of rebaptism[1]. Firmilian strongly supports Cyprian's view, and upon the same general grounds—a significant concurrence of Eastern and North African traditions against the tradition of Rome. His letter contains one or two other points of interest: a reference to

[1] Cypr. *ep.* 75. On the genuineness of this letter see Benson, *Cyprian*, p. 377 ff.

contemporary Montanism[1], and another to the career of an unnamed prophetess who claimed to be full of the Holy Spirit and ventured not only to baptize but to offer the Eucharist[2]. It is noteworthy also that Firmilian held the transmission of ministerial grace by successive ordination from the Apostles, who received it by the Lord's Easter gift of the Spirit[3]. The subject of the letter does not lead him to speak of the relation of the Spirit to the Father and the Son, but according to Basil[4] his 'Discourses,' which were extant in Basil's time, shewed that he held the proper Deity of the Spirit.

Gregory Thaumaturgus.

A contemporary of Firmilian, Gregory, a native and afterwards Bishop of Neo-Caesarea in Pontus, has left a short exposition of his faith, which has much to tell us about the light in which the Holy Spirit was regarded about the middle of the third century. The confession runs: "There is One God ...One Lord...and One Holy Spirit, deriving His subsistence from God, revealed, i.e., to mankind,

[1] Cypr. *ep.* 75. 7 illi qui Cataphryges appellantur et novas prophetias usurpare conantur nec patrem possunt habere nec filium, quia nec spiritum sanctum; a quibus si quaeramus quem Christum praedicent, respondebunt eum se predicare qui miserit spiritum per Montanum et Priscam locutum.

[2] *Ib.* c. 10.

[3] *Ep.* 75 § 16 "potestas...apostolis data est et ecclesiis quas illi a Christo missi constituerunt, et episcopis qui eis ordinatione vicaria successerunt." The double transmission (1) to the Churches, (2) to the Bishops, is noteworthy.

[4] *De sp. s.* 29 § 74 ταύτην καὶ Φιρμιλιανῷ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ μαρτυροῦσι τὴν πίστιν οἱ λόγοι οὓς κατελέλοιπε.

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through the Son; Image of the Son, perfect as the Son is perfect, Life and the cause of all that lives, Holiness and the giver of sanctification, in whom is manifested God the Father who is over all and in all, and God the Son who is through all; a perfect Trinity, not divided nor estranged from each other either in glory, eternity, or sovereignty. In this Trinity there is nothing created or servile, nor added, as if it did not exist at first but came in afterwards; for the Son was never wanting to the Father nor the Spirit to the Son, but the same Trinity ever exists, without change or alteration[1]." It is easy to recognize in this confession the theology and even the peculiar phraseology of Origen, whose zealous disciple Gregory had been[2]. Yet there are signs that Gregory realized more clearly than Origen the essential oneness of the Persons in the Holy Trinity. It was even alleged that Gregory spoke of the First and Second Persons as distinguishable in thought only and not in hypostasis, i.e., in essence[3]. But, as Basil points out, the expression does not occur in a dogmatic passage, but fell from him in the heat of controversy[4]. There is no reason to suspect Gregory of any Sabellianizing tendency.

Methodius.

Another Eastern, Methodius, Bishop of the

[1] Hahn-Harnack, p. 253 ff.

[2] As witness his exquisite panegyric on the great Alexandrian teacher.

[3] Basil, *ep.* 210. 5 πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν ἐπινοίᾳ μὲν εἶναι δύο, ὑποστάσει δὲ ἕν.

[4] *Ibid.* οὐ δογματικῶς εἴρηται ἀλλ' ἀγωνιστικῶς.

Lycian Olympus, who suffered in the last days of Maximin's persecution[1], stoutly opposed certain parts of Origen's teaching, notably his doctrine of the spiritual body. With the question of the Holy Spirit's nature and origin he does not deal[2]; his interest lay rather in the Spirit's work upon the human soul. A passage from his *Symposium* or 'Banquet of the Ten Virgins[3]' will shew how he conceives of this. Christ, he teaches, is the True Adam, and His Eve, the Church, is of His flesh and bones, i.e., the partaker of His wisdom and virtue; "and the Spirit of truth, the Paraclete, is the rib, receiving from whom the baptized are born anew for incorruption[4]. But no one can partake of the Holy Spirit and be counted a member of Christ, except the Word first come down upon him, and he sleep as in a trance; that being re-formed by the Spirit, and rising from sleep with Him who slept in the grave for his sake, the soul may be able to receive renewal and restoration. The Spirit may fitly be called the rib of the Word, seeing that it is from the Spirit that, in the Incarnation and Passion, which are the trance of the Christ, God takes to form the 'help meet for Him'—the souls that are

Part I. ix.

[1] Hieron. *de vir. ill.* 83: cf. Socr. *H. E.* vi. 13.

[2] Except in *fragm.* 5, where Eve who proceeded from Adam is said to represent *τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐκπορευτὴν ὑπόστασιν.* See *Hist. of the Procession*, p. 68.

[3] *Conviv.* iii. 8.

[4] *πλευρὰν δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας τὸ παράκλητον, ἀφ' οὗ λαμβάνοντες εἰς ἀφθαρσίαν ἀναγεννῶνται οἱ πεφωτισμένοι.*

Part I. ix.

betrothed and espoused to Him." An interesting anticipation of the later mysticism[1], which taught that the Incarnation and Passion must in a manner repeat themselves in the experience of each Christian soul. Methodius, indeed, with the whole ancient Church, connects the gift of the Spirit with the Sacrament of Baptism; those who have been baptized into Christ by participating in His Spirit may be said to have been "made christs[2]"—anointed as God anointed Him with the Holy Ghost and with power. Yet no early writer insists more strongly on purity of heart as the indispensable condition of the Spirit's indwelling. "Who," he asks, "ever was able to receive Christ or the Spirit in perfection unless he were first in a state of purity[3]?" "The chaste keep the soul itself pure, and the Holy Spirit ever dwells in it, seeing it is not distracted and polluted by unchastened imaginations and thoughts[4]." And, conversely, "that heart is incapable of uncontrolled thoughts in which the Holy Spirit dwells as in a temple[5]." As the Lord makes glad the hearts of men, so the Spirit heals them by love and the other fruit which St Paul enumerates[6]. Doubtless the purity on which this writer insists is of the ascetic

[1] See Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, p. 100 "the language of Eckhart and Tauler is first clearly heard in the mouth of Methodius."

[2] *Conviv.* viii. 8 οἱονεὶ χριστῶν γεγονότων τῶν κατὰ μετουσίαν τοῦ πνεύματος εἰς Χριστὸν βεβαπτισμένων. See p. 207.

[3] *Conviv.* x. 6 τίς γὰρ Χριστὸν ἢ τὸ πνεῦμα τέλειον ἴσχυσε χωρῆσαί ποτε, μὴ καθαρεύσας πρῶτον;

[4] *Conviv.* xi. 3. [5] *Ibid.* [6] *Conviv.* x. 5.

type which had already begun to lay hold upon the imagination of the Church; but it is clear that he seeks from his readers far more than a formal abstinence, and urges the purification of the thoughts and the cultivation of the inner life. Part I. ix.

Dialogue on the Right Faith.

One other Eastern author of this period calls for mention. The nameless writer of the *Dialogue on the Right Faith*—a work commonly attributed to Origen but later than Origen's death, since it uses Methodius[1], yet earlier than the Peace of the Church—represents his Catholic *interlocutor* as confessing his faith in "One God...and God the Word who is from Him and is co-essential with Him and ever existing...and the Holy Spirit, who ever exists[2]." The eternity of the Holy Spirit, it will be observed, is confessed in the same terms as the eternity of the co-essential Son; but the comparative brevity of the treatment of this article of faith suggests that the question of the Spirit's Person had not yet become acute[3].

North Africa. Arnobius and Lactantius.

Two African writers of the age of the last persecution remain to be considered, Arnobius, and his greater pupil, Lactantius. There is, however, little to be found in either which throws light upon the

[1] *Conviv.* x. 5.

[2] *De recta fide* (ed. Bakhuyzen, p. 4) ἕνα θεὸν...εἶναι πεπίστευκα καὶ τὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ θεὸν λόγον ὁμοούσιον ἀεὶ ὄντα...πιστεύω δὲ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι τῷ ἀεὶ ὄντι.

[3] On the singular speculation of Hieracas or Hierax, an Egyptian who lived in the days of the Diocletian persecution and identified the Holy Spirit with Melchizedek, see Epiph. *haer.* lv. 5, lxvii. 3. Cf. p. 97.

Part I. ix.

doctrine of the Holy Spirit. Arnobius does not touch upon the subject. As for Lactantius, Jerome writes[1]: "In his books, and especially in his letters to Demetrius, he denies the personal subsistence of the Holy Spirit, falling into the Jewish error of maintaining that the Spirit is to be referred either to the Father or to the Son, and that His name indicates merely the sanctifying grace (*sanctificatio*) of the two other Persons[2]." The letters to Demetrius unfortunately have perished, and the extant works of Lactantius cannot be said to bear out Jerome's indictment. Yet it must be admitted that while Lactantius clearly recognizes a second person in God, he manifests no consciousness of the doctrine of a coequal Trinity[3]. He represents perhaps the educated layman's point of view, which had scarcely gone beyond the recognition of Christ as God, and into which the Third Person had scarcely entered as yet, except as the Divine energy which inspired the Prophets and descended on Mary and on our Lord. That Lactantius formally denied the personality of the Spirit is improbable; but that he realized it imperfectly or not at all may be gathered from his silence about the Third Person in passages where he speaks freely of the First and the Second. But if so, he stood alone among the early teachers

[1] *Ep. ad Pammach. et Ocean.* (84): see also *Comm. in Ep. ad Galatas* (*praef.*).

[2] "Spiritus sancti negat substantiam, et cum Judaico dicit eum vel ad patrem referri vel ad filium et sanctificationem utriusque personae sub eius nomine demonstrari."

[3] Cf. *de div. inst.* iv. 4, 29; *epit.* 44 (49).

of the Church[1]. Possibly he represents cultivated lay opinion, which had hardly been touched by the growth of Church doctrine, and was therefore liable to mistake heretical or defective teaching for primitive and Scriptural truth.

Creeds and liturgical forms.

The forms of creed and worship which have come down to us from ante-Nicene times are few and meagre. But they bear unmistakable witness to the great place which the Holy Spirit filled in the thought and life of the early Church.

Baptismal Creeds.

Early baptismal creeds and rules of faith follow, practically without exception, the trinitarian scheme which appears in St Matthew's account of the institution of Christian Baptism. It is now agreed on all hands that the Roman Church before the middle of the second century confessed her faith in the words, "I believe in God [the Father] Almighty, and in Christ Jesus, His only-begotten Son our Lord...and in the Holy Spirit...[2]." Interrogations answering to this triple creed were in all probability addressed to candidates for Baptism, so that at the font they acknowledged the Holy Spirit as well as the Father and the Son[3]. "Dost thou believe also in the Holy Ghost?" is the third question on faith put to the catechumen in the

[1] Origen's remark (p. 127 f.) seems to refer to Monarchian teachers.

[2] Hahn-Harnack, *Bibliothek der Symbole*, p. 22 f. πιστεύω εἰς θεὸν παντοκράτορα, καὶ εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ...τὸν γεννηθέντα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου... καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα....

[3] See C. H. Turner, *History and Use of Creeds*, p. 12 ff.

Part I. ix.

earliest extant form of the Roman baptismal office; and though this form is first found in a document which is much later than the third century, there is no reason to doubt that it reflects primitive use. Africa, as we know from Tertullian[1], recited its faith in words similar to those used at Rome. The East also, there can be no doubt, had its creeds in ante-Nicene times. The creed of Caesarea, recited at Nicaea by Eusebius, and the creed of Jerusalem as it is gathered from the *Catecheses* of Cyril, whatever their relation to the old Roman creed[2], were assuredly in the main ante-Nicene, and both profess the threefold faith in "One God...One Lord...One Holy Spirit[3]." And the early Rules of faith, e.g., those of Justin, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Origen, are entirely at one with the official creeds of the Churches in their recognition of the Holy Spirit as a distinct object of Christian belief.

Doxologies.

As the early Church believed in the Holy Spirit and was baptized into Him, so she included His Name in her hymns of praise. The oldest trine doxology, attributed to Polycarp by the Church of Smyrna in the circular letter which describes his martyrdom, has been quoted already[4]. It is natural to suppose that at the supreme moment of his life the aged Bishop offered his thanksgiving

[1] Cf. Hahn-Harnack, p. 54 f.

[2] See *J. T. S.*, i. 3 ff., iii. 17 ff.

[3] πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα θεόν...καὶ εἰς ἕνα Κύριον...καὶ εἰς ἓν πνεῦμα (Hahn-Harnack, pp. 131–4).

[4] See p. 7.

in words which during his episcopate he had been accustomed to use at the Eucharist[1]. Early in the next century, the layman Julius Africanus ended his great *Chronology* with a doxology conceived in the same spirit: "We thank the Father who gave us Him who is the Saviour of all and our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom with the Holy Spirit be glory and majesty for ever[2]." Similar doxologies, as Basil tells us[3], were frequent in Origen's homilies. Origen's successor, Dionysius, unorthodox as he was thought to be by his Roman namesake, followed the same type of doxology[4]. Indeed this seems to have been the prevalent form in the early days, and Basil could only regard it as one of the unwritten traditions of the Church, although, as he rightly says, other forms, such as "through the Son in the Spirit," are also early and not inconsistent with the Catholic faith[5].

Hymns.

From the early years of the second century, if not in Apostolic days, hymns were sung in the

[1] Polycarp's phrase *σε αἰνῶ* κτλ. found its way into the later liturgies; cf. the Preface in St James, St Mark, St Basil, and St Chrysostom (Brightman, *Liturgies*, i. pp. 50, 125, 322, 384).

[2] *Ap.* Basil. *de sp. s.* 29 § 73 *ᾧ ἡ δόξα* [*καὶ ἡ*] *μεγαλωσύνη σὺν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.*

[3] In the homilies as they are now extant the doxologies are usually addressed to the Son; but *cum spiritu sancto* appears in Rufinus's translation of the second homily on Joshua.

[4] See p. 139. Basil expresses his surprise—*ὃ καὶ παράδοξον ἀκοῦσαι.*

[5] Cf. *J. T. S.* i. pp. 92, 108; v. der Goltz, *Das Gebet*, p. 157 ff.; Maclean, *Ancient Church Orders*, p. 124 ff.

Part I. ix.

Christian assemblies "to Christ as to God[1]"; and psalms and hymns were composed and circulated which set forth His Deity[2]. It was one of the charges laid against Paul of Samosata that he suppressed hymns of this character, even substituting for them (though this is scarcely credible) odes in praise of himself[3]. From the wreck of this primitive hymnody little has survived[4], but from what has come down to us it appears that the Holy Spirit was, in some at least of these compositions, glorified with the Son. The hymns appended to the *Paedagogus* do not, it is true, mention the Holy Spirit, though the prayer which precedes them has the usual doxology "to Father and Son, with the Holy Spirit also[5]." But the famous hymn Φῶς ἱλαρόν, known to English Churchmen through Keble's translation "Hail gladdening Light," was already in St Basil's time of unknown antiquity[6], and in it the Eastern Church of the fourth century sang daily at the Service of the Lamplighting,

> "We hymn the Father and the Son
> And Holy Spirit of God[7]."

The ancient Morning Hymn of the Greek offices, our *Gloria in excelsis*, in the form which appears in

[1] Pliny, *ep.* x. 96 (97).

[2] Eus. *H. E.* v. 28.

[3] Eus. *H. E.* vii. 30.

[4] On the newly recovered *Odes of Solomon* see Add. Note B.

[5] *Paedag.* iii. 12 § 101 τῷ μόνῳ πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ, υἱῷ καὶ πατρὶ...σὺν καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι.

[6] Basil, *op. cit.* § 73.

[7] ὑμνοῦμεν πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα θεοῦ.

the Codex Alexandrinus, written early in the fifth century, has a corresponding tribute to the Holy Spirit. Part I. ix.

"We praise thee, we bless thee,
We worship thee, we glorify thee, we give thanks to thee,
Because of thy great glory,
O Lord, heavenly King,
God the Father Almighty;
O Lord and only-begotten Son Jesus Christ,
And Holy Spirit[1]."

Perhaps the *Te decet laus* which follows the *Gloria* in the *Constitutions* may be classed with these earliest remains of Christian hymnody, and its witness to the 'conglorification' of the Spirit is not less express:

"Thee praise becometh,
Thee the hymn becometh,
Thee glory becometh,
The Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit,
For ever and ever. Amen[2]."

Other liturgical forms.

No service books remain to make known to us the exact words used in the celebration of the Sacraments during the first three centuries. Probably no such books ever existed. The nearest approach to them is to be found in the earliest Church Orders,

[1] See *O.T. in Greek*, iii. p. 833 θεὲ πατήρ...κύριε υἱέ...καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα. On the *Gloria in Excelsis* in *Apostolical Const.* vii. 47 f. see Maclean, *Ch. Orders*, p. 29 f. The early Latin version adds a second mention of the Holy Spirit near the end of the *Gloria*: "tu solus gloriosus cum spiritu sancto in gloria dei patris": see the *Bangor Antiphonary*, ii. p. 76 ff.

[2] *Apost. Const.* vii. 48. Cf. Julian, *Dict. of Hymnology*, s.v. *Te Deum*, pp. 1123–7; Frere, *Intr. to Hymns A. and M.*, p. x.

Part I. ix.

some of which probably took shape during the ante-Nicene period[1]; and to these may be added the incidental notices of current forms which are to be found in such writers as Justin, Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Cyprian. We are concerned with these remains only so far as they illustrate the place occupied by the Holy Spirit in primitive devotion.

(*a*) Baptismal.

To take first the rites of Baptism, the *Didache* establishes the fact that in the neighbourhood from which that early manual issued Baptism was already administered in the trinitarian form. It even prescribes trine affusion, in cases where affusion is used, thus emphasizing the relation into which the baptized enter with each Person in the Trinity[2]. It is clear from the words of Justin and Tertullian that in the West also, at Rome and at Carthage, Baptism was administered in the Name of the Three[3]. Besides this, the baptismal rites at Carthage, at least in the early years of the third century, assigned to the Holy Spirit certain functions essential to the efficacy of the Sacrament. The Spirit, it was believed, came down from heaven upon the water and sanctified it, giving it the power to sanctify and cleanse[4]. His effusion on the neophyte was symbolized by the

[1] On the approximate dates of the Church Orders see the discussion in Bp Wordsworth's *Ministry of Grace*, pp. 12—50, and a chapter on the subject in Bp Maclean's *Church Orders* (pp. 141—173).

[2] *Did.* 7 ἔκχεον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν τρὶς ὕδωρ εἰς ὄνομα πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος.

[3] Cf. Justin, *Apol.* i. 61, Tert. *de bapt.* 6.

[4] Tert. *op. cit.* 3.

unction and conveyed by the imposition of hands that immediately followed Baptism and formed a part of the rite. It is difficult to overrate the impression of the Spirit's nearness and power which must have been produced upon the mind of the adult convert who entered the Church through such an initiation. Part I. ix.

(*b*) Eucharistic.

Did the primitive Church connect the Holy Spirit with the Eucharist in any similar way? It has been usual to answer that she invoked the Holy Spirit both on the elements and on the communicants: on the elements, that by His power they might become the Body and Blood of Christ; on those who partook of this Sacrament, that they might partake worthily and for the preservation of their souls and bodies to eternal life. That this was the practice of the later Church is evident from the Liturgies; but it has recently been pointed out[1] that there is no direct evidence for its occurrence before the fourth century, except in the second of the Pfaffian fragments of Irenaeus, which are now regarded as forgeries[2]. An 'epiklesis' or invocation there undoubtedly was in the primitive liturgy, but, so far as we know, it was simply an "invocation of God[3]"; or if a Divine Person was specifically mentioned, it was the Word whose illapse on the elements was thought to effect the sacramental

[1] By Mr Edmund Bishop in *Texts and Studies*, VIII. 1, p. 136 ff.

[2] Cf. Harnack, *Die Pfaff'schen Irenäus-Fragmente* (in *Texte u. Unters.* N.F. v.); E. Bishop, *l.c.* p. 136 n. 3.

[3] Iren. iv. 18. 5 *τὴν ἐπίκλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ.*

Part I. ix.

change[1]. But if the epiklesis did not yet definitely point to the action of the Holy Spirit in the Eucharistic sacrifice, His name must often have been, to use St Basil's word, 'connumerated' with the Father and the Son in the prayers of the celebrant. In the Sacramentary of Serapion, which is scarcely more than a quarter of a century later than the Council of Nicaea, and doubtless follows older precedent, every prayer ends, after the mention of our Lord, with such words as "through whom to Thee be the glory and the power in the Holy Spirit unto all ages of ages[2]."

Private devotions.

The private devotions of Christians doubtless followed the pattern of their public prayers. A glance through the earlier *Acta martyrum* will shew how the martyrs were believed to have confessed their faith and offered praise. "I thank my God," is the answer of Apollonius to the Proconsul who condemned him, "together with all who have acknowledged God Almighty and His only-begotten Son Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit[3]." "Bring me near to thy Father," prayed the martyr Phocas; "lead me by the narrow door into the temple of the King, and to Thee be glory and to Thy Father and the Holy Spirit[4]." It may be doubted whether the words are those of the martyrs or have been put

[1] Cf. *J. T. S.* iii. p. 171; E. Bishop, *op. cit.*, pp. 142 ff., 158 ff.

[2] δι' οὗ σοὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς σύμπαντας αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων (*J. T. S.* i. p. 100 ff.).

[3] Gebhardt, *Acta martyrum*, p. 59.

[4] Conybeare, *Monuments*, p. 117.

into their mouths by the compilers of the Acts, but at least they are not inconsistent with the simple faith of the age of persecution. Part I. ix.

The devotional language of the early Church was in fact on the whole in advance of its doctrinal system. Men like Origen still had intellectual difficulties in reference to the relation of the Spirit to the other Persons of the Holy Trinity; but they could nevertheless associate His name in their prayers and praises with those of the Father and the Son. The worship of the Trinity was a fact in the religious life of Christians before it was a dogma of the Church. Dogmatic precision was forced upon the Church by heresy, but the confession and conglorification of the Three Persons arose out of the Christian consciousness, interpreting by its own experience the words of Christ and the Apostles and the primitive rule of faith.

PROFUNDA TUA SANCTUS SPIRITUS TUUS, SECUNDUM APOSTOLUM, SCRUTATUR ET NOVIT, ET INTERPELLATOR PRO ME TUUS INENARRABILIA A ME TIBI LOQUITUR: ET EGO NATURAE SUAE EX TE PER UNIGENITUM TUUM MANENTIS POTENTIAM CREATIONIS NOMINE NON MODO ELOQUAR SED ETIAM INFAMABO?

HILARY OF POITIERS.

PART II.

FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE FOURTH CENTURY TO THE END OF THE PATRISTIC PERIOD.

I. The Arians and the Church (318—382).

II. Eusebius of Caesarea and Cyril of Jerusalem.

III. Athanasius, Didymus, Epiphanius.

IV. The Cappadocians.

V. Antiochenes and Alexandrians.

VI. The Eastern Church from the Council of Chalcedon to John of Damascus.

VII. Hilary of Poitiers and his Western Contemporaries.

VIII. Ambrose and Augustine.

IX. The Western Church from Leo the Great to Gregory the Great.

I.

THE ARIANS AND THE CHURCH (318—382).

In the early years of the fourth century Sabellianism, the heresy of Libya, Egypt's next-door neighbour, was still a dreaded enemy at Alexandria. If the influence of Origen had declined, the rank and file of the Alexandrian Church was still haunted by the fear of "confounding the Persons," which had driven Dionysius to the verge of a dangerous subordinationism; and this popular dread of a Sabellian confusion presently led to a controversy which stirred the whole Church throughout the Empire.

Arius and Alexander.

A spark thrown off in the heat of discussion was the immediate cause of the conflagration[1]. In the year which was marked by the Edict of Milan (312—3) Bishop Peter's successor, Achillas, was followed by the vigorous prelate Alexander. One of his presbyters, Arius, who was in charge of the oldest church in Alexandria, and had hoped (it is said) to have succeeded Achillas in the episcopal chair, publicly charged Bishop Alexander with having

[1] Socr. *H. E.* i. 6 *ἀνάπτεται ἀπὸ σμικροῦ σπινθῆρος μέγα πῦρ.*

art II. i. used Sabellian language. It appears that in or about the year 318 Alexander had, at a gathering of the clergy, discoursed on the Holy Trinity, insisting especially on the unity of the three Persons in God[1]. His teaching was fiercely (γοργῶς) challenged by Arius, who, not content with a simple protest, argued the point with the Bishop. "If the Father begat the Son," he contended, "He that was begotten had a beginning to His existence; from which it is clear that once the Son did not exist, and it follows of necessity that His hypostasis is a created one[2]." For the moment Arius made no reference to the Holy Spirit; as in the early days of the Monarchian heresy, so in the beginnings of Arianism the Third Person did not at first come into view. But there is evidence that the heresiarch was fully conscious of the consequences of his position. According to Athanasius, the *Thalia*, a poem written by Arius to impress his ideas upon the popular imagination, contained words to this effect: "the glories of the members of the Trinity are not alike; their hypostases cannot be blended, for one is more glorious than another, and that to an infinite extent[3]." In another place Arius

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[2] εἰ ὁ πατὴρ ἐγέννησεν τὸν υἱὸν ἀρχὴν ὑπάρξεως ἔχει ὁ γεννηθείς· καὶ ἐκ τούτου δῆλον ὅτι ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν ὁ υἱός (cf. p. 135)· ἀκολουθεῖ τε ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἔχειν αὐτὸν τὴν ὑπόστασιν.

[3] *De synod.* 15 τριάς ἐστι δόξαις οὐχ ὁμοίαις· ἀνεπίμικτοι ἑαυταῖς εἰσὶν αἱ ὑποστάσεις αὐτῶν· μία τῆς μιᾶς ἐνδοξοτέρα δόξαις ἐπ' ἄπειρον.

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[3] *De synod.* 15 τριὰς ἐστι δόξαις οὐχ ὁμοίαις· ἀνεπίμικτοι ἑαυταῖς εἰσὶν αἱ ὑποστάσεις αὐτῶν· μία τῆς μιᾶς ἐνδοξοτέρα δόξαις ἐπ' ἄπειρον.

is charged with stating explicitly that "the essences of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are separate in nature, alien, and diverse, and incapable of participating in each other; and (to quote his own words) they are altogether and infinitely dissimilar in essence as well as in glory[1]."

But although Arius saw that the Holy Spirit must be included in his scheme, and did not shrink from expressing this conviction, he abstained, perhaps purposely, from working out the doctrine of infinite inequalities within the Trinity. One step was enough at a time. This policy was followed by Bishop Alexander in his circular letter[2], and by the Nicene Council. Either the Church did not realize that the Person of the Holy Spirit was virtually included in the Arian attack upon the Person of the Son, or she was not prepared to pronounce a decisive judgement upon the Godhead of the Spirit; or, as is more probable, she was not concerned to anticipate heresy, or to define the terms of Catholic communion more precisely than the occasion demanded[3]. In any case the Council of 325 was content to assert the consubstantiality of the Son.

The Creed of 325.

[1] *Or. c. Arian.* i. 6 *μεμερισμέναι τῇ φύσει καὶ ἀπεξενωμέναι καὶ ἀπεσχοινισμέναι καὶ ἀλλότριοι καὶ ἀμέτοχοί εἰσιν ἀλλήλων αἱ οὐσίαι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος· καὶ (ὡς αὐτὸς ἐφθέγξατο) ἀνόμοιοι πάμπαν ἀλλήλων ταῖς τε οὐσίαις καὶ δόξαις ἐπ' ἄπειρον.*

[2] Socr. *H. E.* i. 6.

[3] Cf. Basil, *ep.* 125. 3 *ὁ δὲ περὶ τοῦ πνεύματος λόγος ἐν παραδρομῇ κεῖται, οὐδεμιᾶς ἐξεργασίας ἀξιωθεὶς διὰ τὸ μηδέπω τότε τοῦτο κεκινῆσθαι τὸ ζήτημα.* Cf. *ep.* 159. 2.

Part II. i.

Yet the sudden arrest of the Nicene creed after the words, "And in the Holy Spirit," gave warning that at some future time it might be found necessary to guard the Deity of the Spirit as the Deity of the Son had been guarded.

Arian synods and creeds.

The Arians, for their part, were in no hurry to provoke controversy on the Person of the Holy Spirit, and for five and thirty years after the Nicene Council this question was not formally raised. Yet the years between 340 and 360 were fruitful in synodical utterances proceeding from Arian or semi-Arian assemblies, and most of these 'creeds' had much to say about the place of the Holy Spirit in the life of the Church. The series[1] begins with four documents connected with the Council which was held at Antioch in 341. The Council met, ostensibly, to assist at the dedication of Constantine's great basilica; but the real purpose of the Arian majority was to find a formula which might be substituted for the creed of Nicaea, without exciting the suspicions of Catholic Christians[2]. The first draft ended, as the Nicene creed had done, with the words, "And in the Holy Spirit," to which it added, with some show of reluctance, the last two articles of the Western form[3]. In a second attempt,

Creeds of Antioch (341).

[1] It is to be found in a convenient form in Hahn-Harnack, *Bibliothek der Symbole*, pp. 183—209.

[2] See Harnack, *History of Dogma* (E.T.) iv. 64; Gwatkin, *Arianism*, p. 115 f.

[3] καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, εἰ δὲ δεῖ προσθεῖναι, πιστεύομεν καὶ περὶ σαρκὸς ἀναστάσεως καὶ ζωῆς αἰωνίου.

which professed to be the work of the Antiochene martyr Lucian, a new departure was made. Emphasis was laid on the reality of the distinctions which mark the Persons of the Trinity: "the Holy Spirit is really Holy Spirit, the name of the Persons being not otiose, but accurate terms, intimating the proper hypostasis, rank, and glory of each Person[1]." Still more significant is the description which this second creed gives of the mission and work of the Spirit; He is "given to believers for comfort, sanctification, and perfecting[2]." A third creed which followed amplifies this new feature, defining the Holy Spirit as "the Paraclete, the Spirit of truth which God had by the prophet promised to pour upon His own servants, and which the Lord promised to send to His disciples, and actually sent, as the Acts of the Apostles bear witness[3]." Finally, a fourth form, drawn up, a few months after the Council separated, for presentation to the Western Emperor Constans, runs: "that is, the Paraclete-Spirit which the Lord promised to His Apostles, and after His ascension sent to teach them and bring all things to their remembrance, whereby also

[1] τοῦ δὲ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἀληθῶς ἁγίου πνεύματος ὄντος, τῶν ὀνομάτων οὐχ ἁπλῶς οὐδὲ ἀργῶς κειμένων.

[2] τὸ εἰς παράκλησιν καὶ ἁγιασμὸν καὶ τελείωσιν τοῖς πιστεύουσι διδόμενον.

[3] τὸν παράκλητον, τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας, ὃ καὶ διὰ τοῦ προφήτου ἐπηγγείλατο ὁ θεὸς ἐκχέειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ δούλους, καὶ ὁ κύριος ἐπηγγείλατο πέμψαι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μαθηταῖς· ὃ καὶ ἔπεμψεν, ὡς αἱ πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων μαρτυροῦσιν.

Part II. i.

the souls of those who have sincerely believed upon Him shall be sanctified[1]."

Later Arian creeds, to 360.

Most of the later Arian Councils adopted one of these scriptural and admirable summaries of the work of the Paraclete, or some similar words. The words used in the fourth creed of 341 find place also in the creed of Philippopolis (343), the fifth creed of Antioch, known as the Macrostich (345), and the first creed of Sirmium (351). Slightly different forms occur in the second Sirmian creed (357), which says: "The Paraclete Spirit is through the Son, who was sent and came according to promise to instruct, teach, and sanctify the Apostles and all believers[2]"; and in the Sirmian creed of 359: "the Holy Spirit, which the Only-begotten of God, Jesus Christ, promised to send to mankind[3]." The synods of Nicé (359) and Constantinople (360) repeat the last-named form; while the synod of Seleucia (359) presents another which differs only in terms: "the Holy Spirit which our Lord and Saviour named Paraclete, promising to send it to His disciples after His departure, and sent it accordingly; whereby also He sanctifies those in the

[1] τουτέστιν τὸ παράκλητον, ὅπερ ἐπαγγειλάμενος τοῖς ἀποστόλοις μετὰ τὴν εἰς οὐρανοὺς αὐτοῦ ἄνοδον ἀπέστειλε, διδάξαι καὶ ὑπομνῆσαι αὐτοὺς πάντα· δι' οὗ καὶ ἁγιασθήσονται αἱ τῶν εἰλικρινῶς εἰς αὐτὸν πεπιστευκότων ψυχαί.

[2] Paracletus autem spiritus per filium est, qui missus venit iuxta promissum, ut apostolos et omnes credentes instrueret, doceret, sanctificaret.

[3] ὃ αὐτὸς ὁ μονογενὴς τοῦ θεοῦ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐπήγγειλε πέμψαι τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων (citing freely Jo. xiv. 16, xvi. 13 ff.).

Church who believe and are baptized in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit[1]." Part II. i.

The Church owes a debt, it may be freely admitted, to the Arian leaders who thus persistently called attention to the teaching and sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit, at a time when there was grave risk of Christian thought being turned too entirely to theological controversy. Nevertheless in this exclusive insistence upon the work of the Spirit there was, it may be feared, a tacit suggestion of His inferiority to the Son, to whom the same creeds ascribe every Divine attribute short of the Homoousion. Prominence is given in all the Arian confessions to those passages of Scripture which speak of the mission of the Spirit by the Son, while other passages, which represent Him as proceeding from the Father and the Spirit of both the Father and the Son, find no corresponding place in these creeds. Their statement of the mission and work of the Spirit, excellent so far as it goes, is for these reasons unsatisfactory and even misleading; professing to be scriptural, it represents only one side of the teaching of Scripture. Nor is this sense of inadequacy removed by the Trinitarian doctrine of the Arian Creeds. When the second of the Antiochene forms tells us that the names of the Persons are not to be taken as meaningless or

[1] ὃ καὶ παράκλητον ὠνόμασεν ὁ σωτὴρ καὶ κύριος ἡμῶν, ἐπαγγε
λάμενος μετὰ τὸ ἀπελθεῖν αὐτὸν πέμψαι τοῖς μαθηταῖς τοῦτο· ὃ
ἀπέστειλε, δι' οὗ καὶ ἁγιάζει τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πιστεύοντας
βαπτιζομένους κτλ.

Part II. i.

otiose, this is a reasonable protest against Sabellianism; but their essential Unity is very imperfectly guarded by the statement which follows that the Persons though three in hypostasis are one in unity of purpose[1]. The Macrostich, while conceding the name of God to the Son, appears to withhold it from the Spirit[2], whose "grace," it confesses, "is abundantly bestowed on the saints according to the Father's will." The first synod of Sirmium anathematizes those who speak of the Holy Spirit as the Ingenerate God or as a part of the Father or of the Son, or who confuse the Paraclete with the Son, but has no word of condemnation for those who hold the Spirit to be a creature of the Son; and if the second synod of Sirmium holds that "the Trinity is always to be maintained[3]," it is far from asserting that the Trinity is co-essential. The Homoean synods of 359—360 (Sirmium, Nicé, Seleucia, and Constantinople) make no attempt to extend even the *homoion* to the Third Person in God. These omissions are the more significant, since all the Arian creeds except the first of Antioch make a point of recognizing the functions of the Spirit; while as to His Person an ominous silence is preserved.

During the period of Arian activity which culminated in the Homoean council of Constantinople

[1] τῇ μὲν ὑποστάσει τρία τῇ δὲ συμφωνίᾳ ἕν.

[2] θεὸν μὲν τὸν πατέρα λέγοντες, θεὸν δὲ καὶ τὸν υἱόν, οὐ δύο ...ους θεοὺς...καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος χάριν.

[3] ...initas semper servanda est.

(360), the Bishops who stood by the creed of Nicæa were sufficiently occupied by the task of maintaining the co-essential Godhead of the Son. Of the Godhead of the Holy Spirit during those years they said little; unwilling to go beyond the words of the Nicene Instruction, they contented themselves with pointing out that it had virtually taught the doctrine of a co-equal Trinity. It was not until the long covert attack upon the Person of the Spirit bore its natural fruit in open blasphemy that the Church found herself constrained to break silence, and follow Arianism on to this new ground. Part II. i.

The Arian troubles had begun in Egypt, and Egypt was also the scene of the outbreak of the fresh controversy. During the years 356—362 Athanasius was for the third time an exile from his diocese, seeking refuge from the tyranny of the prefect Syrianus either in the Nitrian desert or among the hermits of the Thebaid[1]. It was probably near the end of 359 that he was at once cheered and pained by a letter which reached him in the desert from his friend Serapion, Bishop of Thmuis, in the Delta. The pain was caused by Serapion's account of a new developement of Arianism in his own neighbourhood. Some members of the party who, disgusted by Arian irreverence, had returned to the Nicene faith so far as regards the Person of the Son, refused to admit the Godhead of the Holy Spirit, affirming that He is a Rise of the Egyptian *Tropici*.

[1] *Ep. ad Serap.* i. 1 πικρὸς ἦν ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς διωγμὸς ἐπικείμενος, καὶ πολλὴ ἔρευνα τῶν ζητούντων ἡμᾶς ἀνελεῖν.

Part II. i.

creature, one of the ministering spirits, differing from other angelic beings only in degree[1]. They supported this view by an ingenious use of the 'trope' in their interpretation of Scripture, whence Athanasius names them 'Tropici,' 'trope-mongers[2],' apparently because they explained words in Scripture which went against their view as figures of speech, or imported into them a non-natural sense. He speaks of them also as "enemies of the Spirit[3]," and this latter designation stuck to the party, who were commonly known as Pneumatomachi. In the judgement of Athanasius their acceptance of the Godhead of the Second Person did not atone for their attitude toward the Third.

Synod of Alexandria (362).

The course of events shortly afterwards restored Athanasius to power. On Nov. 3, 361, Constantine died, and on the 9th of the following February an edict of Julian permitted all exiled Bishops to return to their sees. A fortnight later Athanasius entered Alexandria, and was received with open arms by the Alexandrians, who restored the churches to the Catholics, driving out the Arian presbyters in charge. Shortly afterwards a synod of Bishops who were favourable to the Nicene faith was assembled at Alexandria; twenty-one came together, including

[1] *Ib.* 1 λεγόντων αὐτὸ μὴ μόνον κτίσμα ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν λειτουργικῶν πνεύματων ἓν αὐτὸ εἶναι, καὶ βαθμῷ μόνον αὐτὸ διαφέρειν τῶν ἀγγέλων.

[2] *Ib.* 10 οἱ τῷ ὄντι τροπικοὶ...ἐτόλμησαν, ὡς αὐτοί φασι, τρόπους πάλιν ἑαυτοῖς ἐφευρεῖν καὶ παρεξηγεῖσθαι. Cf. 32 τῶν δὲ τροπικῶν ἢ ἀλόγιστος μυθοπλαστία.

[3] τῷ ὄντι πνευματομαχοῦντες. Cf. iv. 1 λογομαχεῖν μελετήσαντες καὶ λοιπὸν πνευματομαχοῦντες.

Eusebius of Vercelli, the rest being representative of Arabia, Egypt, and Libya. A letter addressed by this synod to the Church of Antioch is preserved among the works of Athanasius, and it contains the first synodical reference to the denial of the Holy Spirit's Godhead. The synod wisely recognized that neither the Western formula 'one hypostasis' nor the Eastern 'three hypostases' was a bar to inter-communion, since there was no lurking Sabellianism in the one and no taint of tritheism in the other; those who spoke of one hypostasis used the word in the same sense as 'ousia[1],' and those who spoke of three hypostases believed that the Son was of one essence with the Father, and that the Holy Ghost is "not a creature nor foreign to the Divine nature, but belongs to it and is indivisible from the essence of the Son and the Father[2]." The Bishops of the Alexandrian synod, accordingly, required nothing further from those who desired to be in communion with them than that they should hold the Nicene faith and condemn Arianism, adding however: "they must anathematize also those who say that the Holy Spirit is a creature and separate from the essential nature of Christ[3], for they who, while they pretend to hold the Nicene faith, venture

[1] *Tom. ad Antioch.* 6 ὑπόστασιν μὲν λέγομεν, ἡγούμενοι ταὐτὸν εἶναι εἰπεῖν ὑπόστασιν καὶ οὐσίαν.

[2] *Ib.* 5 οὐ κτίσμα οὐδὲ ξένον ἀλλ' ἴδιον καὶ ἀδιαίρετον τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ πατρός.

[3] *Ib.* 3 ἀναθεματίζειν δὲ καὶ τοὺς λέγοντας κτίσμα εἶναι τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον καὶ διῃρημένον ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ χριστοῦ.

Part II. i.

to blaspheme the Holy Spirit, are Arians at heart, though they may profess to reject that heresy[1]." This was practically to extend the Homoousion to the Spirit, though it is not probable that the term was definitely used by the synod in reference to the Third Person, as the Church historians of the next century would lead their readers to suppose[2].

At Antioch the Alexandrian 'tome' was accepted by Paulinus, who subscribed it, anathematizing those "who call the Holy Spirit a creature made by the Son[3]." Meanwhile events at Constantinople had brought to light a movement similar to that which Athanasius sought to arrest in Egypt. The synod of Constantinople in 360, which was dominated by the Homoean leader Acacius, had deposed for various causes Macedonius, Bishop of Constantinople, Basil, Bishop of Ancyra, Eustathius, Bishop of Sebaste, and others; and the pliant Emperor Constantius followed up the sentence of the Council by exiling the deposed prelates. The effect of this harsh treatment was to bring the exiled bishops nearer to the Nicene position. Led by Macedonius they affirmed the Homoiousion which had been condemned by the Sirmian Council of 357, Macedonius

Rise of the Hellespontine Pneumatomachi.

Macedonius.

[1] *Ib.* 3 οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιοῦσιν ἢ τὴν Ἀρειανὴν αἵρεσιν τοῖς μὲν ῥήμασιν ἀρνοῦνται, τῷ δὲ φρονήματι ταύτην κατέχουσιν.

[2] Socr. iii. 7, Soz. v. 12. Ὁμοούσιος was applied to the Holy Spirit by Athanasius (*ep. ad Serap.* i. 27); but loyalty to the Nicene instruction probably kept the Synod from giving an official sanction to this extension of the term.

[3] τοὺς λέγοντας τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον κτίσμα δι' υἱοῦ γεγονός (*tom. ad Antioch.* 11).

declaring his belief that "the Son is God, like in all things to the Father, even in essence[1]"; and the rest of the exiles followed. As to the Holy Spirit the agreement was less complete, though none of them were willing to confess Him to be God. Eustathius is said to have exclaimed, "I neither choose to name the Holy Spirit God, nor should I venture to call Him a creature[2]." Macedonius, on the other hand, was of opinion that "He had no claim to the Divine honours which were attributed to the Son, being but a minister and a servant, as the holy angels may without offence be called[3]." The adherents of this doctrine soon became known as Macedonians or Marathonians[4], or Pneumatomachi, the last name being perhaps borrowed from Athanasius's description of the Tropici. On both sides of the Hellespont, in Thrace and in Bithynia, the Macedonians were numerous; the stand which they had made against the irreverence of the Anomoeans gained them many adherents among the devout laity of Constantinople and its neighbourhood, and their popularity was increased by

[1] Soz. *H. E.* iv. 27 εἰσηγεῖτο δὲ τὸν υἱὸν θεὸν εἶναι, κατὰ πάντα τε καὶ κατ' οὐσίαν ὅμοιον τῷ πατρί.

[2] Socr. *H. E.* ii. 45 ἐγώ, ἔφη, οὔτε θεὸν ὀνομάζειν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον αἱροῦμαι, οὔτε κτίσμα καλεῖν τολμήσαιμι.

[3] Soz. *l.c.* τὸ δὲ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἄμοιρον τῶν αὐτῶν πρεσβείων ἀπεφαίνετο, διάκονον καὶ ὑπηρέτην καλῶν καὶ ὅσα περὶ τῶν θείων ἀγγέλων λέγων τις οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτοι.

[4] Marathonius was a wealthy layman who had established monasteries at his own expense, and was consecrated by Macedonius Bishop of Nicomedia (Soz. *H. E.* iv. 27).

Part II. i.

the character which they bore for saintliness; the sect was noted for the grave ascetic lives of its members, and for a certain grace of speech and persuasiveness of manner which secured the goodwill of their neighbours. Ecclesiastical position they had none at first, for the Arian faction allowed them neither bishops nor churches; yet the leaven of their doctrine spread in the East and added a fresh complication to the tangle of the times[1].

The reign of the Catholic Emperor Jovian was too brief to produce any effect upon this position of the contending parties. A letter from Athanasius is extant in which the champion of the Homoousion warns the Emperor against the insidious policy of the neo-Arians who, professing the Nicene faith, blasphemously spoke of the Holy Spirit as the creature of the Son[2]; whereas the Nicene fathers had glorified the Three Persons together by including the Three in one great act of faith. Jovian was known to be favourable to the cause of the Homoousion, and the hopes of the Catholics rose high; but in the following spring the new Emperor died, and the Empire was again divided between two masters, the West falling to Valentinian and the East to Valens. On the Hellespont in 364 a fresh council was held at Lampsacus, when the Semiarians scored a considerable success, reaffirming the Homoiousion

Synod of Lampsacus.

[1] Athan. *ep. ad Jov.* 1 τὴν Ἀρειανὴν αἵρεσιν ἀνανεῶσαι βουλόμενοι.

[2] *Ib.* βλασφημοῦντες εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἐν τῷ φάσκειν αὐτοὺς κτίσμα εἶναι αὐτό, καὶ ποίημα διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ γεγενῆσθαι.

(τὸ ὅμοιον κατ' οὐσίαν) against the Homoeans[1]. According to Socrates[2] the synod also strengthened the hands of the Macedonians and assisted in spreading their doctrine over the Hellespont. But the triumph of the Semiarian party was short-lived; Valens had meantime changed his policy, and not only refused to confirm the Lampsacene decrees, but exiled the Semiarian leaders[3]. In these circumstances the Macedonians took counsel together, and resolved to appeal to the West. Deputies were sent to Valentinian, and also to Liberius, Bishop of Rome. On arriving in Italy the Semiarian delegates found that the Western Emperor was in Gaul, engaged in a campaign; and they addressed themselves at once to Liberius. The Roman Bishop at first declined to receive them, and when they protested that they had abandoned Arianism and embraced the Nicene doctrine, he demanded a confession of their faith. In their reply, which is given at length[4], they rehearsed the creed of Nicaea, ending with the words "and in the Holy Spirit," and thus contrived to evade the question of the Spirit's consubstantiality. Liberius fell into the trap, and not only admitted the Macedonian delegates to communion, but entrusted them with a letter[5] in which he recognized

Part II. i.

Semiarian deputies at Rome.

Liberius.

[1] Soz. *H. E.* vi. 7.
[2] Socr. *H. E.* iv. 4.
[3] For his reasons see Gwatkin, *Arianism*, p. 234 f.
[4] Socr. *H. E.* iv. 12.
[5] Given at length by Socrates, *l.c.*

Part II. i.

their full return to the Homoousion. Armed with this document they betook themselves to Sicily, and repeated to the Sicilian Bishops their profession of adherence to the Nicene faith. On their return to Asia Minor a deep impression was produced by the letter of Liberius, and preparations were made for a conference of Nicenes and Macedonians at Tarsus, when it was hoped that an agreement might be reached on the basis of the creed of 325. But the scheme came to nothing, and meanwhile the death of Liberius left the Roman Church free to reconsider its relations with the Eastern bishops.

Damasus.

The new Bishop, Damasus, who was a man of more robust personality if not of sounder faith than his predecessor, lost no opportunity of declaring himself in reference to the Macedonian controversy. The new heresy had by this time infected the West. A letter addressed by Athanasius to the Bishops of Africa in the name of the Bishops of Egypt and Libya ends with a grave warning against those who called the Holy Spirit a creature[1]; and about the same time he had occasion to call the attention of Damasus to the teaching upon this subject of Auxentius, the Arian Bishop of Milan[2]. In one way or another Damasus had become thoroughly awake to the danger that threatened the faith, and

Roman synod (369).

a large council of Bishops, assembled under his presidency at Rome, perhaps in the year 369,

[1] Athan. *ad Afros* 11.

[2] Athan. *op. cit.* 10, Soz. vi. 23. Auxentius had begun *τὰ ἴσα φρονεῖν τοῖς ἀνόμοιον τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα δοξάζουσι.*

followed the example of the Egyptian synod, and declared that according to the teaching of the Nicene fathers the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are "of one Godhead, one power, one character (*figurae*), one essence." "In no respect," they continue, "do we separate the Holy Spirit (from the other Persons), but we adore Him together with the Father and the Son as perfect in all things, in power, honour, majesty, and Godhead[1]." Another synodical letter[2], addressed to the Bishops of Illyria, speaks of the Homoousion as "a fortress which the Nicene fathers had erected against the arms of the Devil"; adding, "And the Holy Spirit must be believed to be of the same substance" (as the Father and the Son)[3]. Part II. i.

It was perhaps subsequently to this Roman synod, but during the episcopate of Damasus, that an embassy from the orthodox Bishops of Asia Minor arrived at Rome, praying that Eustathius of Sebaste, who had been received into communion by Liberius, might now be anathematized for his doctrine of the Holy Spirit[4]. The bad faith of the Macedonians, it seems, had by this time become apparent to the Eastern Nicenes. It was evident that the Semiarians were at one with the Anomoeans in refusing to regard the Third Person as of one

[1] Mansi, *Concilia* iii. 461.

[2] *Ib.* iii. 458. Cf. the Greek version given by Sozomen (*H. E.* vi. 23), and Theodoret (*H. E.* ii. 17).

[3] *Substantiae* (Mansi): ὑποστάσεως καὶ οὐσίας (Theodoret).

[4] Mansi, *Conc.* iii. 481.

Part II. i.

substance with the Father and the Son. The Roman Bishop, according to Sozomen, recognized the justice of this judgement, and wrote to the East to support the Nicenes in their defence of the consubstantiality of the Holy Spirit[1]. Whether Eustathius and the Macedonians were formally condemned in this letter does not appear, but it is clear that Rome and the West were one with the Nicenes of Asia Minor in opposing the doctrine of the Pneumatomachi.

Illyrian synod (375).

The warning addressed by the Roman synod of 369 to the Bishops of Illyria seems to have taken effect. A few years later, perhaps in 375, an Illyrian synod wrote to the Bishops of Asia and Phrygia, "After much discussion we have arrived at the conclusion that the whole Trinity is consubstantial...Let those who do not glorify the Trinity as consubstantial be anathema...The true faith is that the holy Trinity...has been hallowed, glorified, manifested, the Father in the Son, the Son in the Father, with the Holy Spirit, for ever. For this being manifested, we shall be able manifestly to confess the Holy Trinity consubstantial, according to the faith long ago established at Nicaea[2]." The wording of the Illyrian manifesto is crude, but it amounts to an explicit if not a very convincing confession of the consubstantiality of the three Persons in the Trinity. It was supported by a letter from the Emperors: "we" (write Valentinian, Valens,

[1] Soz. vi. 22.

[2] Theodoret, *H. E.* iv. 8. Cf. Niceph. xi. 30.

and Gratian) with the present synods, both that held at Rome and that in Gaul, believe that there is one and the same substance of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit in three *prosopa*, i.e., in three perfect *hypostases*, and we anathematize those who are of the opposite opinion[1]." Part II. i.

But Western orthodoxy, even though backed by Imperial authority, did not at once prevail in the distracted East. The struggle in Asia Minor increased in violence. Everywhere synods were gathered on one side or on the other. Bishops hurried hither and thither, anathemas were hurled, depositions decreed; the Church was in confusion. Arian councils were held at Ancyra, at Cyzicus, and elsewhere. Of Catholic assemblies the most noteworthy was the synod of Iconium, which was under the capable presidency of Amphilochius. His synodical letter[2] is of special interest because it recognizes for the first time the need of some formal extension of the Creed of Nicaea. "For such as read that creed with discretion the mere association of the Holy Spirit's name with those of the Father and the Son as the Object of faith was doubtless, as Athanasius contended, conclusive and sufficient; but the desperate attack which is being made on the proper Godhead of the Spirit calls for a re-examination of the grounds of our belief[3]. Synod of Iconium.

[1] Theodoret, *H. E.* iv. 7.

[2] Migne, *P. G.* xxxix. 93 ff.

[3] τοῖς μέντοι γε συνετῶς ἀναγινώσκουσιν αὐτάρκης καὶ ἡ περὶ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ πίστει διδασκαλία...ἐπεὶ δὲ πρόσφατον ὃ

Part II. i.

These we find in the baptismal words prescribed by Christ Himself; as we are baptized into the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, so must we glorify the Three alike." The studied moderation of this statement, compared with the rigid orthodoxy of the Roman and Illyrian letters, will not escape the notice of the reader. It expresses in synodical language the spirit of Basil, who at this time was directing the counsels of the Eastern Nicenes.

The Anomoeans.

During these years Homoean Arianism, satisfied with its political ascendancy, took no active part in the controversy about the Holy Ghost. The Anomoean leaders on the other hand went beyond the Macedonians in their opposition to the Catholic doctrine of the Person of the Spirit. If the Son was 'unlike' to the Father, there could be no impiety in going a step further and maintaining that the Spirit was inferior to the Son. The Son was the creature of the Uncreated; the Spirit, the first and greatest work of God's first and greatest creature[1]. Thus the Spirit was third in the Trinity "not only in order but in nature[2]." This was merely full-blown Arianism, and had been anticipated by Arius himself; but it was a developement from

σατανᾶς...ἐνέβαλέ τισι περὶ τοῦ πνεύματος δισταγμόν, ἀναγκαῖον ἐπὶ τὴν πηγὴν ἀνατρέχειν τῆς πίστεως.

[1] So Eunomius ventured to write (Migne, *P. G.* xxx. 868): εἷς κύριος Ἰησοῦς...κτίσμα τοῦ ἀκτίστου...καὶ ἓν πνεῦμα ἅγιον, πρῶτον καὶ μεῖζον πάντων τῶν τοῦ μονογενοῦς ἔργων, προστάγματι μὲν τοῦ πατρός, ἐνεργείᾳ δὲ καὶ δυνάμει τοῦ υἱοῦ γενόμενον).

[2] τρίτον τάξει καὶ φύσει (Migne, *P. G.* xxix. 661).

which both Homoeans and Semiarians shrank. Eunomius, with the boldness of a self-made man, rushed in where better men feared to tread, and led the front rank of the Arian revolt. Few perhaps followed, for the Macedonians were scarcely less offended by his audacity than the Nicenes; but his irreverent and unspiritual teaching added to the danger of the time.

Eunomius.

But the end was not far off. Basil, who had taken the place of Athanasius († 373) as the chief theologian on the Catholic side, passed away on the eve of the final victory. He lived, however, to see the death of Valens and the edict of Gratian which recalled the exiled Bishops and proclaimed toleration to Catholics and Arians alike, the Eunomians alone excepted. His death occurred on New Year's day, 379; on Jan. 19 Theodosius received the purple, and the series of events began which led to the complete collapse of Arianism in the East. A Spaniard by birth and a Catholic by upbringing, Theodosius might have been expected to befriend his Catholic subjects, and circumstances favoured the rapid growth of this policy. In the winter of 379–80 he was seized by a serious illness, and sought baptism from the Catholic Bishop of Thessalonica, where he had fixed the Imperial residence. Whether at the suggestion of the Bishop or in thankfulness for restoration to health, immediately after his recovery Theodosius issued an edict in support of the Nicene faith[1]. With a

Accession of Theodosius (379).

His edict.

[1] Theodosian Code, xvi. 1, 2, *De fide catholica* (27 Feb. 380).

Part II. i.

Western's attachment to the Roman See, the Emperor takes his stand upon the Apostolic tradition inherited by the great Western Church from St Peter: "we will that all peoples who are under our rule observe the religion which the Apostle Peter delivered to the Romans...and which is followed by Pope Damasus and by Peter, Bishop of Alexandria ...that we believe in one Godhead of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit in such wise as to attribute equal majesty to each Person, and to worship the Holy Trinity[1]. We direct that those who comply with this condition shall bear the name of Catholic Christians; the rest must submit to the disgrace which attaches to heresy, and to such penalty as the Divine vengeance and the Imperial will may impose."

This edict, which must have fallen on the Arian majority as a thunderbolt out of a blue sky, was no *brutum fulmen*; it was followed after a short interval by significant acts. In November of the same year the Emperor entered Constantinople and called upon the Homoean Bishop to assent to the Nicene faith. On his refusal, the Catholics were put into possession of the churches which for forty years had been in Arian hands. Another edict was issued in January 381, which extended this policy to the whole Eastern empire[2]. Throughout the East the Arian clergy were driven from the churches, and not permitted to hold assemblies

[1] Unam deitatem sub parili maiestate et sub pia trinitate.

[2] Cod. Theodos. xvi. 5, 6 (10 Jan. 381).

within the towns. No exception was made in favour of those who claimed to hold the Catholic faith, if they denied the consubstantiality of the Spirit[1].

Council of Constantinople (381).

The next care of Theodosius was to obtain synodical sanction for his acts. The Council which he called was strictly limited to the Eastern empire[2]; Western as the Emperor was by origin and early associations, the Bishop of Rome was neither present nor represented at it. One hundred and fifty orthodox Bishops obeyed the summons, including representatives of Egypt and Syria as well as of Macedonia and Asia Minor; but none came from Italy and the West. The Macedonians, who had shewn a disposition to accept the Homoousion, were invited, and thirty-six of them came, chiefly from the shores of the Hellespont; but when a choice had to be made between Catholic and Arian communion, they preferred the latter, and left Constantinople. The 150 who remained passed a resolution[3] "that the faith of the 318 fathers who met at Nicaea be not rescinded, but remain binding (*κυρίαν*); and that every heresy be anathematized, and particularly that of the Eunomians or Anomoeans, that of the Arians or Eudoxians, and that of the Semiarians or Pneumatomachi[4]...." This was in effect to affirm

[1] *Ibid.* is autem Nicaenae adsertor fidei et catholicae religionis verus cultor accipiendus est...qui...spiritum sanctum...negando non violat.

[2] Theodoret, *H. E.* v. 7 *μόνης τῆς οἰκείας βασιλείας τοὺς ἐπισκόπους εἰς τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν συναθροισθῆναι συνέταξε.*

[3] Council of Constantinople, *Can.* 1.

[4] I.e., the Homoean Arians.

Part II. i.

the Deity of the Holy Spirit which the Eunomians flatly denied and the Semiarians either denied or refused to assert. But there is nothing to shew that the 150 put forth any new or extended creed; in the words of Socrates, so far as the canon goes, they appear simply to have "again confirmed the Nicene faith[1]." The creed now known as Constantinopolitan was indeed produced at Chalcedon as the work of the 150[2]; possibly it had been read and accepted in 381. But as Dr Hort shewed in his epoch-making dissertation, this creed was really earlier by some years than the Council of Constantinople, since it is quoted by Epiphanius in 374[3]. However, the clause which relates to the Holy Spirit, though not drafted by the Constantinopolitan fathers, is in accordance with the spirit of their first canon, and admirably expresses the policy of the leaders on the Nicene side. It declared the Spirit to be "the Lord, the life-giver, that proceeds from the Father, that with Father and Son is together worshipped and together glorified[4]." There is nothing here which goes beyond the words of the New Testament or is not implicitly present in them; nothing which the opposite party could condemn as "non-Scriptural," as they

The Constantinopolitan Creed.

[1] Socr. *H. E.* v. 8 *ἐβεβαίωσάν τε αὖθις τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ πίστιν.*

[2] See Mansi vii. 109.

[3] See Hort, *Two Dissertations*, p. 74 ff. and cf. Mr C. H. Turner's *History and Use of Creeds*, p. 41 ff.

[4] *τὸ κύριον τὸ ζωοποιόν, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, τὸ σὺν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ συμπροσκυνούμενον καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον.*

had condemned the Nicene Homoousion. St Paul had used the phrase "the Lord the Spirit[1]"; St John had spoken of the Spirit as life-giving, and as proceeding from the Father[2]. The 'co-adoration' and 'conglorification' of the Spirit follow from the baptismal formula, for how can the Church but adore and glorify each of the Three into whose one Name she is baptized? With singular moderation the Nicenes forbear to speak of the Spirit as co-essential with the Father and the Son, or even to call Him God, and yet the words they use forbid any thought of the Spirit of God as a created nature. Moreover the words served their purpose as well as if the Homoousion had been extended to the Third Person, for while no Semiarian who was in substantial agreement with the Nicene faith could stumble at them, they were sufficiently explicit to debar from communion any who refused to the Holy Spirit the honour due to God[3].

A second Council was held at Constantinople in 382, and most of the Bishops who were present in 381 returned to take part in it. Possibly it was on this occasion that the 5th Constantinopolitan canon

Second Council at Constantinople (382)

[1] 2 Cor. iii. 18.

[2] Jo. vi. 63, xv. 26 (but with *παρά* where the Creed has *ἐκ*, on which change see Hort, *op. cit.* p. 86, note).

[3] The Constantinopolitan creed adds to its confession of the Person of the Spirit a clause recognizing his work in the Old Testament Prophets (*τὸ λαλῆσαν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν*). It may be wished that the creed had proceeded, as most of the Arian creeds did, to speak of His office as Paraclete, and the Pentecostal effusion with its permanent results. See p. 168 f.

Part II. i.

was passed, which runs, "As regards the tome of the Westerns, we have recognized also those at Antioch who acknowledge one Godhead of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit." The words are ambiguous, but they probably refer to a synodical letter sent from Rome to the large Council which assembled at Antioch in 379[1] under the presidency of Meletius, at which Arian errors, especially that of the Pneumatomachi, were condemned. The canon is important as calling attention to the agreement on this vital question which now existed between Constantinople, Antioch, and Rome. From the same Constantinopolitan council of 382 we have a synodical letter[2] addressed to Damasus, Ambrose, and other Western bishops, from whom the Easterns had received an invitation to attend a gathering at Rome. "Would that we had the wings of a dove," they answer, "to bear us to you across the seas! But insuperable obstacles prevent such a journey, and we must be content to notify you of our entire concurrence with your maintenance of the Catholic faith which teaches that the Godhead, the power, and the essence of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are one, and that their glory is equal and their majesty co-eternal[3]; and condemns, on the one hand the Sabellian confusion of the Persons,

[1] On this Council see Tillemont, viii. 367 f., and on the 'tome of the Westerns' cf. Bright, *Canons*, p. 113 ff.

[2] Preserved by Theodoret, *H. E.* v. 9.

[3] θεότητος καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ οὐσίας μιᾶς...πιστευομένης, ὁμοτίμου τε τῆς ἀξίας καὶ συναϊδίου τῆς βασιλείας.

and on the other the heresy of the Eunomians, Arians, and Pneumatomachi, which divides the essence, nature, or Deity of the Three, and brings into the uncreated, consubstantial, and co-eternal Trinity a nature later in time, or created, or of another essence." It is instructive to compare this robust expression of personal faith with the guarded language of the first canon of 381 and of the 'Constantinopolitan' creed, which, as dictating terms of communion, lay down the minimum required from those who called themselves Catholic Christians. Part II. i.

Yet another synod was held at Constantinople in 383[1]. It was a final effort on the part of the Emperor to bring all his subjects to a common mind in matters of faith. All parties were represented, and each was desired to offer to the Emperor a written statement of its belief. Theodosius, it is said, took the documents to his private apartments, and devoutly prayed for Divine assistance. This done, he read each in turn, and rejected all that did not acknowledge a consubstantial Trinity. Two confessions only satisfied this condition—those of the Catholics and the Novatians. These two bodies, accordingly, were authorized to hold their assemblies within the city walls; the rest were finally prohibited. Council of 383.

It was a foregone conclusion; and though there is no question as to the Emperor's sincerity, his methods will not approve themselves to those who Fall of Arianism in the East.

[1] Socr. *H. E.* v. 10, Soz. *H. E.* vii. 12.

Part II. i.

have learnt the lesson of religious toleration. But the total collapse of Eastern Arianism which followed may be regarded as evidence that the system possessed no inherent vitality. The Arian leaders, when they saw men falling away in crowds to the standard of the Homousian victors, took comfort in the words "Many are called but few chosen[1]." But, as the historian shrewdly remarks[2], they had not thought of quoting these words when the greater part of the laity were coerced into becoming Arians, and the Catholics were a small minority. The Catholic remnant had survived and triumphed; the Arians, now that the battle had gone against them, succumbed. A living faith thrives under the stress and storm which thin the numbers of its adherents. But Arianism, after a fruitless struggle, left the East, and sought to retrieve its fortunes among the new nations which were rising into existence on the banks of the Danube. In this new field it flourished for a time, but in the end the story of its failure in the East was repeated in the West; in the sixth century Visigothic Spain became Catholic, and Lombardy followed in the end. Nor does there seem to be any reason to expect a revival of this once almost victorious foe. The Godhead of the Son and of the Holy Spirit are stoutly denied in our own time, but the Arian solution of the mystery of the Holy Trinity is the last which would commend

[1] Matt. xx. 16, xxii. 14.

[2] Socrates, *H. E.* v. 10 ὅπερ οὐκ ἔλεγον ἡνίκα τὸ πολὺ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῖς ἐκ δυναστείας προσέκειτο.

itself to the modern mind. The Arian controversy was closed once for all by the Imperial hand which tore up its confessions of faith. Arianism had lived by the breath of Imperial favour, and when that was withdrawn, it speedily succumbed[1].

[1] For further light on the failure of Arianism see the remarks of Prof. Gwatkin, *Arianism*, p. 264 ff.; *Cambridge Medieval History*, i. p. 141 f.

II.

EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA AND CYRIL OF JERUSALEM.

Part II. ii.

THE last chapter has brought the reader to the end of the long struggle with Arianism. It is time now to trace the progress of thought on the subject of the Holy Spirit in the literature of the period and of the years that followed the triumph of the Catholic faith.

The age of the four Councils (325—451) was singularly rich in great Church teachers, whose extant writings supply evidence of their attitude towards the questions of their day. We begin with one who stands somewhat apart from the combatants on either side, but exercised no inconsiderable influence upon the course of events.

Eusebius of Caesarea.

At Nicaea no member of the Council was more conspicuous than Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea in Palestine. Born in the seventh decade of the third century, a pupil of Dorotheus, a younger contemporary of Lucian, a friend and fellow-student of Pamphilus, and perhaps already beginning to be

known as the historian of the early Church, Eusebius, as he sat on the right hand of the Emperor, and delivered the opening address, must have been conscious that the eyes of the whole assembly were upon him, and that much depended on the attitude which he assumed towards the question under debate[1]. Yet neither at the Council nor in the troubled years that followed it does he appear as the recognized leader of either side. Even now that we can look back upon his course, it is not easy to define his relation to either. Cardinal Newman held that "his acts are his confession" of sympathy with the Arians[2]; Bishop Lightfoot, perhaps with greater justice, pleads that "the inference drawn from [his alliance with the Arian party] may be questioned[3]," attributing his conduct to such causes as the claims of friendship, a natural leaning to toleration, and a profound aversion to Sabellianism. There may have been yet another cause. In his intellectual attitude Eusebius belonged to the third rather than to the fourth century. With the crudities of Arius he could have had little sympathy, nor did he care much for the remedy devised by the fathers of Nicaea. In subscribing the Homoousion he had guarded himself by a letter to his Church, in which

At Nicaea (325).

[1] Cf. Stanley, *Eastern Church*, p. 118: "he alone of the Eastern Prelates could tell what was in the mind of the Emperor; he was the clerk of the Imperial closet; he was the interpreter, the chaplain, the confessor of Constantine."

[2] *The Arians of the fourth century*, p. 268 f.

[3] *D. C. B.* ii. p. 347.

Part II. ii.

it was carefully pointed out that his assent was strictly limited. At the Council he had recited the creed of his baptism, the local creed of Caesarea, "which," he added, "expresses my present belief[1]"; and it may be doubted whether he ever heartily accepted any confession of faith which went beyond it. The Caesarean creed professed: "We believe in One God...and in one Lord Jesus Christ the Word of God, God from God, Light from Light, Life from Life, Only-begotten Son, Firstborn of every creature, begotten of God the Father before all worlds...and in one Holy Spirit"; to which Eusebius added on his own behalf[2], "believing each of these Persons to be and subsist (*εἶναι καὶ ὑπάρχειν*), the Father truly Father, the Son truly Son, the Holy Spirit truly Holy Spirit." The Creed of Caesarea was pre-Arian, and therefore does not exclude an Arian interpretation; a Sabellian interpretation is carefully shut out by the words which Eusebius added. To the position thus taken up Eusebius, with the growing conservatism of an old man, adhered; strongly anti-Sabellian, he never saw his way to become strongly anti-Arian, and as the years went on the suspicion perhaps grew upon him that the Nicene leaders were not innocent of Sabellian tendencies.

Eusebius believed the Holy Spirit to possess a true and personal subsistence within the Trinity whose Name is by the Lord's command invoked

[1] Socr. i. 8 *οὕτως καὶ νῦν πιστεύοντες.*

[2] Cf. Gwatkin, *Arianism*, p. 39, and note 4.

upon every Christian at Baptism. So far his creed led him. Did he go further than this, either in the Arian or in the Catholic direction?

The answer to this question may be found in two controversial works which belong to the last years of the life of Eusebius and present his latest views[1]. Their witness is the more valuable because they are earlier than the earliest of the Arian creeds of 340—360, and were written twenty years or more before the rise of the Pneumatomachi. Both writings are directed against the revived Sabellianism attributed to Marcellus of Ancyra, who had been condemned by a synod held at Constantinople in 336. Marcellus was charged with having maintained that the Son was but a temporary manifestation of the power immanent in the Father[2], and the Spirit in like manner the power of the Incarnate Son put forth for the guidance of the Apostles and the sanctification of the Church[3], to be similarly recalled when His work has been accomplished.

On the Theology of the Church.

In the *De ecclesiastica theologia*[4] Eusebius deals at some length with Marcellus's teaching upon the Holy Spirit, contrasting it with that which he regards as the teaching of the Church. Marcellus argued,

[1] The *Contra Marcellum* and the *De ecclesiastica theologia*, both later than 336. Eusebius died before 341.

[2] An ἐνέργεια δραστική which was manifested at the creation, and more fully in the person of Christ.

[3] According to Theodoret (*haer. fab.* ii. 10), τὸ παναγιον πνεῦμα παρέκτασιν τῆς ἐκτάσεως λέγει—an extension of the Son, as the Son was of the Father.

[4] iii. 4—6.

Part II. ii.

it seems, that a trinity could not make a unity unless the trinity began with unity[1]. Had the Father and the Son been two separate persons (*πρόσωπα*), as Asterius asserted[2], the Spirit could not have been said both to proceed from the Father and to receive from the Son; the two statements would be mutually exclusive. The Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, therefore, are not three hypostases, but one hypostasis under three names[3]. To this Eusebius replies that our Lord clearly taught that the Spirit is different (*ἕτερον*) from the Son[4]. He is 'another Paraclete.' He comes when the Son departs; He glorifies the Son. But if the Spirit is to be distinguished from the Son, He is nevertheless "included in the holy and thrice-blessed Trinity[5]," and is not one of the angelic powers which are also 'spirits.' What is then His special office, and what His relation to the Father and the Son? The Holy Spirit has His dwelling in the saints, to whom He is supplied by the Son. His work is to sanctify all to whom He imparts His gifts, whether prophets or apostles, or souls that God loves; and it may be that the holy angels also receive their holiness from Him. As to the relation which exists between the Persons of the Trinity, the Son alone shares the

[1] *ἀδύνατον τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις οὔσας ἑνοῦσθαι μονάδι, εἰ μὴ πρότερον ἡ τριὰς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ μονάδος ἔχοι.*

[2] For Asterius see Socr. *H. E.* i. 36.

[3] *τριῶν ὀνομάτων κατὰ μιᾶς ὑποστάσεως κειμένων.*

[4] *ἕτερον τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τοῦ υἱοῦ.* Yet just afterwards he cites correctly *ἄλλον παράκλητον δώσει ὑμῖν.*

[5] *τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ τρισμακαρίᾳ τριάδι συμπαρείληπται.*

honour of the Father's Godhead, and to Him belongs the power that makes and creates all things that are made, visible and invisible, including the Paraclete Spirit Himself. The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ alone is Head over all things, even over the Holy Spirit and furthermore over the Only-Begotten Son....To Him alone can be given the name of 'the One God, the Father': the Son is 'God Only-begotten, who is in the bosom of the Father'; the Paraclete cannot be called either 'God' or 'Son,' since He has not received His origin (*γένεσιν*) directly from the Father as the Son did, but is one of the things that were made by the Son[1].

This is subordinationism in its most outspoken boldness, but it is the subordinationism of Origen rather than of Arius; only, in passing through the mind of Eusebius, Origen's conjectures have become dogmas. The conservative Bishop of Caesarea persuades himself that these dogmas represent the genuine tradition of the Church, as well as the express teaching of St John; "such then," he concludes in his rhetorical way, "are the mysteries of the Holy Catholic Church as they are delivered in the Divine utterances[2]." But notwithstanding this

[1] *μόνος μὲν αὐτὸς 'εἷς θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ'...χρηματίζοι ἄν, ὁ δὲ υἱὸς 'μονογενὴς θεός'...τὸ δὲ παράκλητον πνεῦμα οὔτε 'θεός,' οὔτε 'υἱός,' ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ὁμοίως τῷ υἱῷ αὐτὸ τὴν γένεσιν εἴληφεν, ἓν δέ τι τῶν διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ γενομένων τυγχάνει.*

[2] *Ib.* iii. 6 *ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῆς ἁγίας καὶ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ὧδέ πη διὰ τῶν θείων φωνῶν παραδίδοται τὰ μυστήρια.*

Part II. ii.

conviction, it may be doubted whether, had Eusebius lived to be present at the Council of 381, he would not have submitted as he submitted at Nicaea; not going the whole way, perhaps, with the victorious party, but yet preferring conformity to separation from the Church. Certainly he would have hesitated to adopt the shibboleths of the Eunomians or the Pneumatomachi. One more passage from his writings may be quoted to shew how far he was from those who called the Third Person of the Holy Trinity the 'creature of a creature.' He writes thus in the *Praeparatio Evangelica*[1]: "Second to the Father is the creative and illuminative power of the Divine Word...and after this second Essence (οὐσία), like the moon following the sun, comes the Holy Spirit, who also is counted as having a part in the first and sovereign dignity and honour of the Origin of all things. This Spirit, holding the third rank, ministers to those who are His subordinates out of the higher powers that are in Him, which He Himself in His turn receives from Another who is more exalted and higher than He is, and who, as we have said, is second to the highest and ingenerate nature of God the King of all[2]. From God the Word Himself receives supplies, and drawing as from a never-failing fountain which gushes forth in streams of Godhead,

Preparation for the Gospel.

[1] vii. 15.

[2] τοῦτο μὲν τρίτην ἐπέχον τὴν τάξιν τοῖς ὑποβεβηκόσι τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ κρειττόνων δυνάμεων ἐπιχορηγεῖ, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀντιλαμβάνει παρ' ἑτέρου τοῦ δὴ καὶ ἀνωτέρω καὶ κρείττονος, ὃν δὴ δευτερεύειν ἔφαμεν τῆς ἀνωτάτω καὶ ἀγεννήτου φύσεως θεοῦ τοῦ παμβασιλέως.

He imparts flashes of His own light in rich abundance to all, but especially to the Holy Spirit, seeing that the Spirit is more closely connected with Him than any and nearest to Him." If this is far from the orthodoxy of an Athanasius or a Basil, it is certainly further from the irreverence of an Arius or a Eunomius.

Cyril of Jerusalem.

When Eusebius of Caesarea passed away[1] Cyril of Jerusalem had just begun his public life. Born in the second decade of the century, he was ordained to the diaconate in 335 and to the priesthood ten years later; in 350 he became Bishop of the Holy City, an office which he held, with intervals of exile, till his death in 386. Like Eusebius he was associated, at least during the greater part of his episcopate, with Arian or Semiarian colleagues; indeed, it was not till the Council of 381 that he openly joined the Nicenes. But if we may judge by the one great literary work that he has left, Cyril was no Arian, at least in his earlier days[2].

Catechetical and Mystagogic Lectures.

In the *Catechetical and Mystagogic Lectures* of Cyril the doctrines of the Church are treated from the standpoint of the practical teacher. The audience consisted of men and women who were under preparation for the Easter Baptism, and the instruction is at once homely and thorough. The occasion called for frequent reference to the Holy Spirit, since Baptism is the Sacrament of the Spirit, and

[1] *C.* A.D. 340.

[2] The Κατηχήσεις probably belong to the year 348, and were written when Cyril was yet a simple presbyter.

Part II. ii.

the teaching which precedes Baptism necessarily deals largely with His Person and work. Instruction in the doctrines of the faith was in Cyril's view the most precious possession that he could impart to his catechumens[1], and he begins by impressing on their memory a summary of doctrines which is divided into ten heads; eighth among these is the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. His instruction deserves to be quoted in full[2].

"Believe also (he says) in the Holy Spirit, and hold the right view concerning Him; for there are many who are strangers to the Holy Spirit (ἀλλότριοι τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος), who teach things about Him which are blasphemous (δύσφημα). Learn then that this Holy Spirit is one and indivisible, yet of manifold powers; working with many operations, yet not Himself broken into parts. It is the Holy Spirit that knows the mysteries, searching all things, even the depths of God; that descended on the Lord Jesus Christ in the form of a dove; that wrought in the Law and Prophets; that even now seals thy soul at the time of Baptism; of whose holiness every intelligent nature has need; against whom if any dare to blaspheme, he has no forgiveness either in this world or in that which is to come; who receives a like honour of dignity with Father and Son[3]; of whom also thrones and lordships,

[1] *Catech.* iv. 2 μέγιστον κτῆμά ἐστι τὸ τῶν δογμάτων μάθημα.

[2] *Catech.* iv. 16.

[3] ὅπερ μετὰ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ τῆς ἀξίας τιμῆ τετίμηται. There are other readings: (2) τῇ τῆς θεότητος δόξῃ τετίμηται, (3) τῇ τῆς ἀξίας

principalities and powers have need. For there is one God...one Lord...and one Holy Spirit which has power to sanctify and deify all, which spake in Law and Prophets, in Old and New Testament alike." Part II. ii.

Cyril's attitude towards the doctrine of the Holy Spirit's Person is seen more clearly when in the 16th and 17th lectures he proceeds to expound the clause in the baptismal creed[1] of his own church which related to the third Person of the Trinity. The following is a summary of his exposition: "We need the grace of the Holy Spirit to treat aright of His Person and Work. To speak of these worthily is impossible, but by adhering to Scriptural language we may at least escape the danger of committing the unpardonable sin. In the Holy Scriptures the Spirit speaks of Himself, so that we cannot go wrong if we adhere to their teaching and refuse to go beyond it[2]. The Holy Spirit then, the Paraclete[3], is one, and one only; as there is but one Father and one Son, so there is but one Holy Ghost; no other spirit is to be honoured equally with Him. He is a supremely great Power, Divine and unsearchable, living and rational; and it belongs to

τιμῇ τῆς θεότητος καὶ δόξης τετίμηται. Of this (3) is a manifest conflation and (2) is probably due to an orthodox corrector.

[1] The words are καὶ εἰς ἓν ἅγιον πνεῦμα τὸν παράκλητον, τὸ λαλῆσαν ἐν τοῖς προφήταις (*Catech.* xvii. 3).

[2] xvi. 1, 2: the last words are ὅσα γὰρ οὐκ εἴρηκεν ἡμεῖς οὐ τολμῶμεν.

[3] Cyril seems to prefer ὁ παράκλητος; cf. Hahn-Harnack, p. 134, n. 382.

Part II. ii.

Him to sanctify all things that were made by God through Christ[1]. This Spirit enlightens the souls of the righteous, dwelt in the Prophets and, in the New Testament, in the Apostles, foretold the coming of the Christ, and when He came descended upon Him and pointed Him out to men. One and the same Holy Spirit is to be seen at work in both Testaments; to separate them is to sin against the Spirit who inspired both.

"We are not justly chargeable with tritheism, when we profess our hope in Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; we preach One God through One Son, together with the Holy Spirit[2]. We neither separate the Trinity, as some do, nor confuse the Persons, as Sabellius did; but we devoutly recognize One Father who sent His Son, and One Son who promised to send the Paraclete from the Father, and the Holy Spirit who descended at the Pentecost here in Jerusalem, on this very spot where we are assembled[3].

"To define accurately the hypostasis of the Holy Spirit is impossible; we must be content to guard against errors on various sides[4]. Rather let us fix

[1] *Ib.* 3 μεγίστη δύναμις, θεῖόν τι καὶ ἀνεξιχνίαστον, ζῇ γὰρ καὶ λογικόν ἐστιν, ἁγιαστικὸν τῶν ὑπὸ θεοῦ διὰ Χριστοῦ γενομένων.

[2] *Ib.* 4 σὺν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι δι' ἑνὸς υἱοῦ ἕνα θεὸν καταγγέλλομεν.

[3] *Catech.* xvi. 4 ἐν τῇ πεντηκοστῇ κατελθὸν...ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῇ Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐν τῇ ἀνωτέρᾳ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐκκλησίᾳ...ἐνταῦθα τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐξ οὐρανῶν κατῆλθεν. Cf. Sanday, *Sacred Sites*, p. 83 f.

[4] The errors specified are those of the Gnostics, Marcionites, Montanists and Manicheans. As to contemporary controversies Cyril is discreetly silent.

our thoughts on the course of the water of life as Scripture reveals it to us in the manifold operations of the Spirit. As the rain that descends from heaven and makes the earth to blossom shews white in the lily, red in the rose, purple in the violet and hyacinth, and clothes itself in forms so different as those of the date-palm and the vine; so the Holy Spirit, though Himself one and indivisible, distributes His grace as He wills. The soul that receives it bears in all cases the fruits of righteousness, yet not the same fruits; one receives the gift of utterance, another prophetic inspiration; one has power to drive away evil spirits, another to interpret the Scriptures; one is strengthened to practise self-control, another to give alms, another to fast and lead an ascetic life; one learns to despise the things of the body, another is prepared for martyrdom. To each, as the Apostle teaches, is given the manifestation of the Spirit for the profit of all[1].

"The word 'spirit' is capable of more than one signification. It may be used of the winds[2], or of angels[3], or of the human soul[4]. There are evil spirits as well as good, spirits unclean and malicious, who are the enemies of mankind. The Holy Spirit is not, like the wind or the breath, an impersonal force, but one that lives and speaks. He is not, like the unclean spirits, a hostile force, but one that makes

[1] *Catech.* xvi. 11, 12.

[2] Ps. xlvii. (xlviii.) 8 ἐν πνεύματι βιαίῳ.

[3] Ps. ciii. (civ.) 4 ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα.

[4] Ps. cxlv. (cxlvi.) 4 ἐξελεύσεται τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ.

Part II. ii.

wholly for our good. He comes to us gently and gradually, heralded by the dawning of a new day within the soul[1]. He comes to save and to heal, to teach and to admonish, to give strength and comfort and light. He enlightens the soul, and makes it see what is beyond human sight[2]. Under His influence the soul mirrors (κατοπτρίζεται) the heavens, while the body is still on earth. With Isaiah, it beholds the Lord seated on His throne; with Ezekiel, it sees Him who rides upon the cherubim; with Daniel, it discerns the thousand thousands of the angelic host. Man, little as he is, in the Spirit sees the beginning and end of the world, the intermediate reaches of time, the succession of dynasties. He knows what he has never learnt, for the true Illuminator is with him[3].

"All pure thoughts, all refusals to look upon forbidden sights, or to seek worldly gain, are from the Holy Spirit. It is He who inspires courage and strength in the time of trial; who is at work in all believers at all times. Here and now in this congregation He is working in every heart according to its needs, and He sees what each of us is thinking and what each believes. This is a great thing to say, but it falls far short of the truth. All Christians in this diocese, throughout Palestine,

[1] *Catech.* xvi. 16 προαπαστράπτουσιν ἀκτῖνες φωτὸς καὶ γνώσεως πρὸ τῆς παρουσίας.

[2] ὁ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἀξιωθεὶς φωτίζεται τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον βλέπει.

[3] οἶδεν ἃ μὴ ἔμαθεν, πάρεστι γὰρ ὁ ἀληθινὸς φωταγωγός.

nay throughout the Empire and beyond its borders —bishops, priests, deacons, monks, virgins, lay people—all have the same great Protector and Giver of manifold grace. As the same sun enlightens all the world, so the same Holy Spirit enlightens all who have eyes to see. Blind unbelief, if unconscious of His presence, has none to blame but itself. No creature can dispense with the teaching and sanctifying power of the Spirit; they are needed even by the highest Archangel. No created thing is equal to Him in honour; all the hosts of heaven gathered into one could not compare with Him; all are eclipsed by the perfect goodness of the mighty Paraclete[1]. In magnifying the Spirit we detract nothing from the Father and the Son; all gifts of grace are given by the Father through the Son in conjunction with the Holy Spirit. The gifts of the Father, the Son, the Spirit, are not different; the power that saves us is one, and the faith one."

This great exposition of the functions and work of the Holy Spirit ends as it began with a protest against the attempt to speculate upon His Person. "It is enough for us to know these things: be not curious as to the Spirit's nature or hypostasis[2]. Had it been revealed in Scripture, we should have spoken of it; what is not written, let us not venture

[1] *Ib.* 23 οὐδὲν αὐτῷ τῶν γενητῶν ἰσότιμον· τὰ γὰρ τῶν ἀγγέλων γένη καὶ αἱ στρατιαὶ πᾶσαι ὁμοῦ συναχθεῖσαι οὐ φέρουσιν ἰσότητα πρὸς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα· καλύπτει ταῦτα πάντα τοῦ Παρακλήτου ἡ πανάγαθος δύναμις.

[2] *Ib.* 24 φύσιν δὲ ἢ ὑπόστασιν μὴ πολυπραγμόνει.

Part II. ii.

to touch. It is sufficient for salvation to know that there is a Father, a Son, and a Holy Spirit."

In the 17th lecture, after dealing with the Conception and Baptism of Christ, the Pentecostal effusion, and the work of the Spirit in the Apostolic age, Cyril[1] concludes with this appeal to his catechumens:

"When you come to the font, do not have regard to the minister of Baptism, be he bishop, priest, or deacon; the grace that you will receive is not of men, but of God through the hands of men. But remember the Holy Spirit of whom we have spoken; He is ready to seal your soul, and He will give you a seal which devils fear, a seal heavenly and divine. ...Yet He tries the soul that He seals; He does not cast His pearls before swine. If you play the hypocrite, you may be baptized by men, but you will not be baptized by the Spirit. But if you come in faith, while men will administer the visible rite, the Holy Spirit will give you that which is invisible. You are on the eve of a great crisis in life, you are being enlisted for a great service (*στρατολογίαν*); it will be over in an hour (*κατὰ μίαν ὥραν*), but if you lose the opportunity the loss is irreparable. If on the other hand you are found worthy of the Spirit's grace, your soul will be enlightened, you will receive power such as you never had before, you will receive armour at the sight of which evil spirits tremble. If you believe, you will not only receive remission of sins, but you will henceforth do things that are

[1] *Catech.* xvii. 35 ff.

beyond human strength. May you even be found worthy of the gift of prophecy, for your own capacity and not my words will be the limit of your endowments. My words may be poor as compared with what you will receive, for faith is a large business[1].... God grant that we may at all times yield the fruits of the Holy Spirit, in Christ Jesus our Lord, through whom and with whom together with the Holy Spirit[2] be glory to the Father now and ever." Part II. ii.

So the pre-baptismal lectures end. Something more may be gleaned from the 'Mystagogic' Lectures which follow them—instructions given to the same persons after Baptism in reference to the sacramental life.

"You," Cyril proceeds[3], "who have put on Christ, and been made partakers of Him, are rightly called 'christs'; you were made so when you received the antitype[4] of the Holy Spirit. As Christ, ascending from the Jordan, received an illapse of the essence of the Spirit[5], so as you came up from the font there was given to you an unction which is the antitype of that wherewith Christ was anointed. That unction was no mere (ψιλὸν) ointment. As the bread of the Eucharist after the invocation of the Holy Spirit is no longer simple (λιτός) bread but the Body of Christ, so the holy ointment after invocation is no

[1] πραγματεία πλατεῖα ἡ πίστις.

[2] δι' οὗ καὶ μεθ' οὗ σὺν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι.

[3] *Catech.* xxii. (*mystag.* iii.) 1 χριστοὶ εἰκότως καλεῖσθε: with a reference to Ps. civ. (cv.) 15 μὴ ἅψησθε τῶν χριστῶν μου. See p. 148.

[4] I.e., the chrism.

[5] οὐσιώδης ἐπιφοίτησις.

Part II. ii.

longer mere ointment or common (κοινόν), as people speak, but a gift of Christ and the Holy Spirit, made effectual by the presence of His Godhead... and as with the visible ointment the body is anointed, the soul is sanctified by the holy life-giving Spirit[1]." Of the invocation of the Spirit in the Eucharist we read in Cyril's last lecture to the neophytes[2]: "We call on God, who loves man, to send forth His Holy Spirit upon the gifts now before Him, that He may make the bread to be the Body of Christ and the wine the Blood of Christ; for assuredly whatsoever the Holy Spirit has touched is sanctified and changed[3]." And a little after, speaking of the *Sancta sanctis*[4], he writes: "This done, the priest says, 'Holy things for the holy.' The gifts are 'holy,' having received the illapse (ἐπιφοίτησιν) of the Holy Spirit; and you also are 'holy,' since you have been counted worthy of the gift of the Holy Spirit. The 'holy things' therefore correspond to the 'holy persons.' Then you say, 'There is One holy, one Lord, Jesus Christ'; for in truth there is but One who is holy by nature. We, too, are holy, not however by nature, but by partaking in Christ, and through self-discipline and prayer." The whole course of

[1] τῷ δὲ ἁγίῳ καὶ ζωοποιῷ πνεύματι ἡ ψυχὴ ἁγιάζεται. On the occurrence of ζωοποιός here cf. Hort's *Two Dissertations*, p. 85 f.

[2] *Catech.* xxiii. (*mystag.* v.) 7.

[3] πάντως γὰρ οὗ ἂν ἐφάψηται τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, τοῦτο ἡγίασται καὶ μεταβέβληται.

[4] The liturgical formula which precedes the Communion of the people. Cf. the Liturgy of St James (Brightman, *Liturgies*, p. 62): τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις· εἷς ἅγιος, εἷς κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός.

instruction ends with the blessing and doxology, "The God of peace sanctify you wholly, and may your spirit and soul and body be preserved entire at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ; to whom be glory, honour, and power, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, now and for ever[1]."

In the Catechetical lectures it is the pastor who speaks and not the controversialist or even the theologian. Addressing candidates for Baptism or the newly baptized, in an age when the most sacred subjects were discussed without reserve and with little reverence, Cyril earnestly deprecates theological speculation, and seeks to fix attention on practical religion. For himself he was content with the ancient creed of his own Church, the creed of Jerusalem[2], as Eusebius had been content with the creed of Caesarea. To the Homoousion he makes no reference even when he speaks of the Son. He does not call the Holy Spirit God, though he associates Him with the Father and the Son, and differentiates Him from the highest of created beings. He is reluctant to go one step beyond the words of Holy Scripture; to discuss metaphysical questions into which Scripture does not enter seems to him not only unprofitable but dangerous. He warns his

[1] Compare the doxologies in *Catech.* xiii. 41, xviii. 35, xix. (*mystag.* i.) 11. Other references to the Trinity will be found in *Procatech.* 15, *Catech.* vi. 29, vii. 11, viii. 5, xvi. 4, xix. 7.

[2] Cf. *Catech.* v. 12 ἡ πίστις αὕτη ἐν ὀλίγοις ῥήμασι πᾶσαν τὴν ἐν παλαιᾷ καὶ καινῇ τῆς εὐσεβείας γνῶσιν ἐγκεκόλπισται. See Gwatkin, *Arianism*, p. 132.

Part II. ii.

candidates for Baptism, not against either of the contending parties in the Church but against irreverent speculation, in whatever quarter it might arise. On the theology of the Holy Spirit, therefore, he is far from explicit; but of the work of the Spirit no writer of the fourth century has spoken more fully or convincingly. Yet if the Catecheses had not survived, Cyril might have been known to us merely as a Semiarian leader who after a troubled episcopate sought rest late in life among the victorious Nicenes[1]. The lectures shew that his true interests were religious and not controversial, and that in all essential respects he was from the first a Nicene in heart. His case suggests the hope that not a few of the Semiarian clergy of his age were men of devout minds, whose piety and pastoral labours fell little short of those of the best champions of the Nicene faith.

[1] On the date of Cyril's first acceptance of the Homoousion, see Hort, *Two Dissertations*, p. 92 ff.

III.

ATHANASIUS: DIDYMUS: EPIPHANIUS.

Athanasius.

Even among the great Church teachers of the fourth century the position of Athanasius is unique; both as a champion and as an expounder of the Nicene faith he stands easily first. But for some four and thirty years after the Nicene Council both defence and exposition were limited to the doctrine of the Son. The Nicene fathers had not applied the Homoousion to the Holy Spirit, and Athanasius had no occasion to go further than the Council had gone. Hence in his earlier works references to the Third Person are few, and there is no adequate statement upon the subject. The *Exposition of the Faith*[1], which is perhaps earlier than the Dedication Council, says only, "We believe in the Holy Spirit who searches all things, even the depth of God." "He is ever in the hands of the Father who sends, and of the Son who brings Him[2]." Doxologies in which the Father and the Son are glorified 'with,' or 'in,' the Holy Spirit, are fairly frequent in this

Exposition of the Faith.

[1] Migne, *P. G.* xxv. 200 ff.

[2] See p. 138.

Part II. iii.

period[1]. But it is not till we come to the *Orations against the Arians*, and the *Letters to Serapion*, which belong to the end of the sixth decade of the century, that we meet with any detailed theology of the Spirit.

Orations against the Arians.

In the *Orations* the references to the Holy Spirit are incidental only, but they suggest that Athanasius was already feeling his way to a complete scheme of Trinitarian doctrine in which the Third Person would be fully represented. The following passages will illustrate his position.

"As the Word before the incarnation dispensed the Spirit as His own, so now that He is made man He sanctifies all with the Spirit...When the Lord gave the Holy Spirit to His disciples, He shewed His own Godhead and majesty, signifying that He was not the Spirit's inferior but His equal...Through whom and from whom[2] could the Spirit be given but through the Son, whose Spirit He is[3]?

"It is because of the grace of the Holy Spirit, which is in us, that we come to be in Him, and He in us; and since the Spirit is the Spirit of God, possessing Him we are accounted to be in God, and so God is in us. We are not in the Father as the Son is, for the Son does not partake of the Spirit in order that He may thus come to be in the Father, nor does He receive the Spirit, but rather supplies Him to

[1] *De incarn.* 57; *de decretis*, 32, ad fin.; *ad episc. Aeg.* 25; *de fuga* 27; *hist. Arian.* 80.

[2] διὰ τίνος καὶ παρὰ τίνος.

[3] *Or. c. Arian.* i. 48, 50.

all; nor does the Spirit unite the Word to the Father, but rather receives from the Word. The Son is in the Father, as His own Word and Effulgence; we, apart from the Spirit, are strangers to God, and afar from Him, and it is by partaking of the Spirit that we are united to the Godhead; so that our being in the Father is not from ourselves alone, but from the Spirit who is in us and abides in us...Since the Word is in the Father, and the Spirit is given from the Word (ἐκ τοῦ λόγου), He wills that we receive the Spirit, in order that having received Him and thus possessing the Spirit of the Word who is in the Father, we also may, because of the Spirit, regard ourselves as made one in the Word, and through Him united to the Father[1]."

This is a high level of theological thought, higher than any which can be found in Eusebius or in Cyril of Jerusalem, but it bears on the Deity of the Holy Spirit only in an indirect way; indeed, the question had probably not been raised directly when the first three of these *Orations* were written, and the fourth is concerned chiefly with a contemporary form of Sabellianism, perhaps that into which Marcellus had been betrayed. It is in the letters to Serapion, which belong to the year 358–9, that the note of controversy is first heard in connexion with the doctrine of the Holy Spirit; and from that time it is sounded occasionally, though it never again becomes dominant. The veteran champion of the faith began the battle with the Pneumatomachi, but

[1] *Or. c. Arian.* iii. 24, 25.

Part II. iii.

was content to leave the carrying out of the campaign to younger men.

Letters to Serapion.

Reference has been made already to the *Letters to Serapion*[1] in the general outline of the Arian movement[2]. Here it remains to give a summary of the argument by which Athanasius meets the Tropici of the Delta in his first letter.

If, he reasons[3], the Son is not a creature, as the Tropici admit, how can the Spirit of the Son be such? To bring an alien element into the Trinity, by making the Spirit a being of another essence[3], is to break up the Trinity—to convert it into a Divine Duality *plus* a creature. What system of Divine life can combine Creator and created[4]?

For scriptural proof that the Spirit is a creature the Tropici turn to Amos iv. 13[5], where κτίζειν, they say, is used in reference to the Spirit. But this argument would shew the Son also to be a creature, since the same verb is used of the Son in Prov. viii. 22[6]. Again, from 1 Tim. v. 21[7] they argue that the Spirit must be one of the elect angels, since otherwise He would be specified in St Paul's adjuration. It would be as reasonable to contend that the Apostle means to include the angels as a body in the Trinity,

[1] Migne, *P. G.* xxvi. 529 ff. See above, p. 171 f.

[2] *Ep. ad Serap.* i. 2.

[3] ἑτεροούσιον.

[4] *Ib.* ποία...θεολογία ἐκ δημιουργοῦ καὶ κτίσματος συγκειμένη;

[5] στερεῶν βροντὴν καὶ κτίζων πνεῦμα καὶ ἀπαγγέλλων εἰς ἀνθρώπους τὸν χριστὸν αὐτοῦ (LXX).

[6] Κύριος ἔκτισέν με [sc. τὴν σοφίαν] ἀρχὴν ὁδῶν αὐτοῦ (LXX).

[7] διαμαρτύρομαι ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν ἀγγέλων.

since he mentions them in the same sentence with the Father and the Son. As for the Holy Spirit being one of the angels, there is not a word of this in Scripture. Many titles are used to describe Him, but this one is significantly wanting. Part II. iii.

After argument they have recourse to ridicule. 'If the Spirit is of the Essence of God,' they say, 'He is Brother to the Son, and the Son is not the Only-begotten; or, if He is not the Brother, He must be the Offspring of the Son, and the Father is Grandsire to the Spirit[1].'

Into such blasphemous folly will men fall who attempt to search the deep things of God. Here our best answer is to hold our peace; any reply is made an occasion for further audacity. God, it should be remembered, is not as man, and we cannot argue from human relationships to Divine. Enough that in Scripture the Spirit is never called Son of God nor the Son's Son; the Son is the Son of the Father, the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of the Father.

If the Holy Spirit were a creature, He could not be included in the Trinity. The Trinity is indivisible and the Three are of like nature[2]. If the Arians cannot understand or believe in an undivided Trinity, they should at least refrain from classing

[1] i. 15 *εἰ μὴ κτίσμα ἐστίν...οὐκοῦν υἱός ἐστι καὶ αὐτό, καὶ δύο ἀδελφοί εἰσιν αὐτό τε καὶ ὁ λόγος. καὶ εἰ ἀδελφός ἐστιν, πῶς μονογενὴς ὁ λόγος...εἰ δὲ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἐστὶ τὸ πνεῦμα, οὐκοῦν πάππος ἐστὶν ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ πνεύματος;*

[2] i. 17 *ἀδιαίρετος καὶ ὁμοία ἑαυτῇ.*

Part II. iii.

the Son and the Spirit with the creatures in defiance of Scripture, which classes Both with the Father; whereas these Tropici connumerate the Spirit with created beings[1].

Scripture shews everywhere the intimate relation that exists between the Persons of the Trinity. In the face of this, who shall dare to divide either the Son from the Father or the Spirit from the Son, or from the Father Himself; or to speak of the Trinity as 'dissimilar' or 'of different natures'; of the Son as 'essentially alien' from the Father, or of the Spirit as 'foreign' to the Son[2]? Questions may of course be asked which cannot be answered: How can the Son be said to be in us when the Spirit is? or, How can the Trinity be implicit when any one Person is spoken of, or be said to be in us when one Person is? Let him who raises these difficulties ask himself if he can separate brightness from light or wisdom from the wise, or explain why this is so.

The Spirit is the sanctifying and illuminating living energy and gift of the Son, which is said to proceed from the Father, because it shines forth from (*παρά*) the Word who, as the Tropici admit, is from (*ἐκ*) the Father. The Father sends the Son, and the Son the Spirit; the Son glorifies the Father and the Spirit the Son; the Son receives from the Father, and the Spirit from the Son. But if the

[1] *οἱ δὲ τροπικοὶ τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῖς κτίσμασι συναριθμοῦσιν.*

[2] i. 20 *τίς οὕτω τολμηρὸς ὡς εἰπεῖν ἀνόμοιον καὶ ἑτεροφυῆ τὴν τριάδα πρὸς ἑαυτήν, ἢ ἀλλοτριοούσιον τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν υἱὸν ἢ ξένον τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ υἱοῦ;*

Spirit stands in regard to order and nature in the same relation to the Son as the Son to the Father, must not he who speaks of the Spirit as a creature be forced to say the same of the Son? Once let it be granted that the Son, who is in the Father and the Father in Him, is not a creature, and it is not legitimate to class with the creatures the Spirit, in whom the Son is, and who is in the Son. The position of the Tropici is as illogical as it is unsupported by Scripture. Part II. iii.

Further, the Holy Spirit cannot be a created Spirit if He is, as St Paul says, 'the Spirit which is from God[1],' or if He possesses the powers which Scripture assigns to Him. To regenerate, renew, and sanctify, are not creaturely properties; the creature is capable of receiving regeneration, renewal, and sanctification, but God only can impart them. The Spirit of adoption, of wisdom and truth, of power and glory, the Spirit who deifies men, making them 'partakers of the Divine nature,' must Himself be divine[2] and co-essential with God[3] whose Spirit He is.

The tradition of the Catholic Church is here in agreement with the teaching of Scripture, and this tradition rests on the teaching of Christ transmitted

[1] 1 Cor. ii. 12 *τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ*. That which is *ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ* cannot, Athanasius proceeds to argue, be *ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος*, as the creatures are.

[2] *Ad Serap.* i. 25 *ἐν ᾧ θεοποιεῖται ἡ κτίσις, οὐκ ἂν εἴη ἐκτὸς αὐτὸ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς θεότητος.*

[3] *Ib.* 27 *τοῦ θεοῦ...ἴδιον καὶ ὁμοούσιον.*

Part II. iii.

by the Apostles and preserved by the Fathers[1]. On this tradition the Church is founded, and he who abandons it cannot be, or any longer be called, a Christian. But the Catholic tradition, which confesses a Trinity of Persons in God, is set aside by those who make the Holy Spirit a creature; for by so doing they reduce the Trinity to a duality; there can be no true trinity which is not coessential and coequal.

The other letters to Serapion repeat and develope the arguments urged in the first letter. They emphasize the interior relations of the Trinity, building the doctrine of the Spirit's Godhead on the presuppositions involved in the conception of a Divine *τριάς*. "The Lord founded the faith of the Catholic Church on the Trinity, and He could not have classed the Holy Spirit with the Father and the Son, had the Spirit been a creature. The Trinity, if it be a fact in the Divine life, must be an eternal fact; the evolution of an original duality into a trinity by the addition of a created nature is a thought not to be entertained by Christians. As the Trinity ever was, such it is now; and as it is now, such it ever was[2]."

Later works.

The letters to Serapion are neither brief nor superficial, and Athanasius shews himself prepared

[1] *Ib.* 28.

[2] *Ad Serap.* iii. 7 ἐκ μεταβολῆς καὶ προκοπῆς λέγουσι συνίστασθαι τὴν τριάδα, καὶ δυάδα μὲν εἶναι, ἐκδέχεσθαι δὲ κτίσματος γένεσιν ἵνα μετὰ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ συναχθῇ καὶ γένηται ἡ τριάς. μὴ γένοιτο κἂν εἰς νοῦν ποτε ἐλθεῖν Χριστιανῶν τὸ τοιοῦτον....ὡς γὰρ ἀεὶ ἦν, οὕτως ἐστὶ καὶ νῦν· καὶ ὡς νῦν ἐστιν, οὕτως ἀεὶ ἦν.

to go as fully into the question of the Spirit's Godhead as into that of the Godhead of the Son. Yet he warns Serapion that his answer is not to be regarded as complete, but rather as a starting-point from which the enquiry might begin[1]. He does not promise to pursue the subject himself, and the *Letters* seem to have been his only important contribution to it. There is among his works a Latin translation of a tract *On the Trinity and the Holy Spirit*[2] which, if a genuine work of Athanasius, shews that he intervened in the controversy some years after the date of the *Letters*; but it is largely a collection of Scriptural proofs rendered necessary by the growing disposition on the part of the Pneumatomachi to base their objection on the silence of Scripture, and the theology of the Spirit is not carried further than in the *Orations* and the *Letters*. The tract concludes with the practical reflexion: "Let us think of the Holy Spirit as we think of the Father and the Son; for as we believe in God the Father and in His only-begotten Son, so we believe also in the Holy Spirit. Thus thinking of the Trinity, and worshipping as the seraphim worship, we may hope to be made heirs of the kingdom of heaven."

Scattered references may be found to the controversy in other works of Athanasius written after the rise of the Tropici[3]. But his days were too full

[1] *Ad Serap.* iv. 23 μὴ ὡς τελείαν διδασκαλίαν ἀλλὰ μόνην ἀφορμὴν ταῦτα παρ' ἐμοῦ λάμβανε.

[2] Printed in Migne, *P. G.* xxvi. 1191 f.

[3] Cf. *ad Antioch.* 5, 6, 11; *ad Afros* 11; *ad Jovian.* 1, 4; *ad*

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of personal troubles and the affairs of his Church to allow much time to be spent on a question which, however important, must have appeared to him to be subsidiary to the fundamental doctrine of the co-essential Godhead of the Son. But the influence of the great Bishop of Alexandria upon the shaping of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit must not be estimated only by his writings. It was of no little importance for the cause of the Nicene faith that when the Deity of the Spirit was for the first time explicitly denied, and the denial came from men who professed to believe in the Deity of the Son, the veteran champion of the Homoousion was ready to expose the futility of the attempt to accept the Homoousion unless it were extended to the Third Person of the Holy Trinity. The new heresy received in fact its death blow from the same capable hands that had despatched the earlier form of Arianism; for though it struggled on for twenty years and more, the end was scarcely doubtful after the appearance of the *Letters to Serapion*. Moreover, Athanasius did far more than refute heresy. He placed the whole subject of the interior relations in the life of the Holy Trinity on a scientific basis, so that the doctrine of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit can be seen to form a coherent whole, no part of which can be abandoned without a general collapse of faith. Further, in all that Athanasius wrote on the Trinity the religious spirit and interest

Max. 5; *de virgin.* 1, 12, 14. (On the genuineness of the last-named book see von der Goltz, in *Texte u. Unters.* N. F. xxix. 2, p. 118 ff.)

are so conspicuously dominant that his polemic is never uncharitable nor his logic irreverent. When the exigencies of controversy require him to sound the very depths of the Divine Nature, he does so with a sense of awe which communicates itself to his readers. This attitude was in itself a reproof of the profanities that disgraced the pages of some writers on the other side, and served as an example to Catholic theologians of the wise reserve which should temper the patient thoroughness of all researches into the life of God. Part II. iii.

Didymus.

On the death of Athanasius in 373 the rôle of protagonist on the Catholic side at Alexandria fell to Didymus, the blind head of the Alexandrian School. This remarkable man was totally blind from the age of six, and his vast learning was due simply to the close attention which from a child he had paid to the voice of the reader. He "seemed to transcribe on the pages of his mind all that he heard[1]," and in this way he assimilated in early life all the knowledge of his time; geometry, music, logic, rhetoric, and the rest. But from the first his chief interest lay in theology, and especially in the study of the Holy Scriptures; his writings shew an intimate acquaintance with the contents of both the Old and the New Testament, which would be surprising even in one who had had the use of his eyes. Perhaps it is this wealth of Biblical knowledge which is the most impressive feature in the theological work of Didymus. His exegesis is that of his own age and

[1] Rufin. *H. E.* ii. 7.

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school; a modern objector, armed with critical apparatus, would make short work of a great part of it. But the acuteness with which the quotations are collected and manipulated would be remarkable even in a writer who was not hampered by physical infirmity, and here and there he has succeeded in making new points which are of importance in the history of doctrine.

Two extant works of Didymus bear directly on our subject: a treatise on the Holy Spirit, written before 381, which has come down to us only in Jerome's Latin version; and three books on the Trinity which seem to be later than the year of the Second Council, and which have survived in Greek[1].

On the Trinity.

The Holy Spirit (the *De Trinitate* teaches) is the Spirit of God and from God, although not posterior to Him[2]. The procession of the Second and Third hypostases from the First is not the effect of a creative energy, but belongs to the nature of God; the idea of time must be excluded, and it must be understood that the Persons co-exist and proceed simultaneously (συνυφεστώτως καὶ συμπροεληλυθότως). The Spirit, then, proceeds not by way of creation, but after the manner of a spiritual nature (πνευματικῶς, οὐ δημιουργικῶς).

The titles which the Holy Spirit receives in

[1] For a discussion of the dates and an exhaustive examination of the doctrine of Didymus, see G. Bardy, *Didyme l'Aveugle* (pp. 20, 29 ff., 73 ff., 81 ff.); J. Leipoldt, *Didymus der Blinde.*

[2] *De Trin.* ii. 2 πνεῦμά ἐστιν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰ καὶ μὴ μετ' αὐτόν.

Scripture confirm this belief. He is called the Spirit of holiness, the Spirit of sonship, of grace, truth, wisdom; the sovereign Spirit, the good Spirit. All this points to His being essentially Divine, since He has the notes of the Divine nature (*θεοπρεπῆ*). One who is all this cannot but be co-essential and co-equal with God (*ὁμοούσιον καὶ ἰσότιμον*). Yet this belief does not shut us up to the conclusion that, if He is co-essential, He must be another Son or the Son's Son. The manner of His derivation from the Father differs from the Son's: He is not begotten but proceeding. With regard to His relation to the Son, as the Father finds His perfect image in the Son, so the Son is imaged in the Holy Spirit[1]. The Spirit, then, possesses all the properties of God; He fills all things, He creates, He remits sin, He inspires, He commands. But there is evidence that touches us yet more closely. We have ourselves experienced the Spirit's Divine power, in the Sacraments and in our own souls. The restoration of our nature, the spiritual life, the adoption of sons, the title of joint-heirs with Christ—all are of the Holy Spirit. Only those who are spiritually alive can realize the power or understand the majesty of the Spirit of God. It is no wonder if the psychic, who have not the Spirit, fail to apprehend His nature. No words can tell their loss.

The *De Spiritu Sancto* in its Latin dress reasons as follows:

On the Holy Spirit.

[1] *De Trin.* ii. 5 *καθὰ ὁ πατὴρ...ἐξεικονίζεται ἐν τῷ μονογενεῖ...τὸν ἴσον τρόπον καὶ ὁ μονογενὴς ἐν τῷ ἑνὶ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι.*

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"All sacred subjects call for reverent treatment, and above all is this true of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. Indeed, we would gladly keep silence on a subject which is guarded by sanctions so awful, if the temerity of the adversary did not compel us to speak.

"The Holy Spirit of the New Testament is identical with the Holy Spirit of the Old. His very name implies a nature alien from the creature and akin to God; a nature essentially holy and good, infinite, indivisible, and therefore not that of a creature made by the Word. In operation the Spirit is one with the Father and the Son, and this oneness of operation involves oneness of essence. He is the Finger of God; the Seal which stamps the Divine image on the human soul. But He is not merely an operating force; He is a Divine Person. He goes forth from the Father, He is sent by the Son, not as angels or prophets are sent, but as indivisibly one with the Person who sent Him. When He is sent He does not go from place to place, after the manner of a body; He is not separated from the Father or the Son. He is 'another Paraclete,' and is therefore distinct from the Son in His manner of working; but He is not of a different nature. He comes in the name of the Son, as the Son came in the name of the Father; that is, He represents the Son but is not identical with Him. Our Lord teaches that the being of the Spirit is derived not from the Spirit Himself, but from the Father and the Son; He goes forth from the Son,

proceeding from the Truth; He has no subsistence but that which is given Him by the Son[1]." Part II. iii.

In this last context Didymus appears to approach very near to the Western doctrine of the *Filioque*. How far this may be due to Jerome's Latin, or to textual corruption, it is difficult to say[2]. But there can be no doubt that the blind catechist sees with even greater clearness than Athanasius the ordered flow of the Divine life, according to which the eternal relations of the hypostases present themselves to our thought as processes wherein one Person receives from the other, the Father's essence reaching the Spirit through the Son, so that in some sense the Spirit may be said to derive His subsistence from the Father and the Son, it being understood that the Father is the ultimate Source. Some such conception seems to have occurred to Didymus, although he does not express it in theological terms, and probably it had not taken a definite form in his thoughts.

Epiphanius.

While Didymus was thinking out a doctrine of the Spirit at Alexandria, a very different mind was at work upon the same subject in Cyprus. Epiphanius, Bishop of the Cyprian Constantia, the Salamis of the Acts, is a striking figure in the Church history of the fourth century, whether we regard him as bishop or writer. Our concern with him is in the latter

[1] *De Sp. S.* 34—37 non ex se est, sed ex patre et me est; hoc enim quod subsistit et loquitur a patre et me illi est...profertur a filio, id est procedens a veritate...neque alia substantia est spiritus sancti praeter id quod datur ei a filio.

[2] See *Hist. of the Procession*, pp. 94, 95 note 1.

Part II. iii.

capacity, and we may limit ourselves to two of his works, the *Ancoratus* and the *Panarion*.

The *Ancoratus*.

The *Ancoratus*, written as early as 374, represents the robust faith of a Nicene Churchman, whose dogmatic theology was somewhat in advance of his age. His own anchor is fixed immovably, and he desires to bring all Christians to the same certainty in matters of belief. With no word from an oecumenical Council to guide him beyond the brief Nicene Instruction, Epiphanius speaks already with an assurance which anticipates the decision of 381. "There is one true God," he writes, "Trinity in Unity; one God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit[1]," and a little further on we read: "We call the Father God, the Son God, and the Holy Spirit God[2]." Again, "When you pronounce the Homoousion, you assert that the Son is God, of God, and the Holy Spirit God, of the same Godhead." So direct a confession of the Deity of the Holy Spirit is rare, at the time when it was made. But still more remarkable is the confidence of Epiphanius when he speaks of the source of the Spirit's personal life. "The Holy Spirit," the *Ancoratus* tells us, "is ever with the Father and the Son, and is from God, proceeding from the Father and receiving of the Son[3]." He is "the bond (σύνδεσμος) of the Trinity[4]"; "of the same essence as the Father and

[1] *Anc.* 2 τριὰς γὰρ ἐν μονάδι, καὶ εἷς θεός, πατήρ, υἱός, καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα.

[2] *Ib.* 6 θεὸν τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα.

[3] *Ib.* ἀπὸ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ λαμβάνον.

[4] *Ib.* 7 ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσίας πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ.

the Son"; "the Spirit of the Father and the Spirit of the Son, intermediate between the Father and the Son, and from the Father and the Son[1]." The last statement is repeated a little further on in the form, "The Spirit is God, from the Father and the Son[2]." As none knows the Father but the Son nor the Son but the Father, so "neither does any know the Spirit but the Father and the Son, the Persons from (παρ' οὗ) whom He proceeds and from whom (παρ' οὗ) He receives[3]."

As he goes on, Epiphanius grows bolder or is less circumspect, and though he never describes the Holy Spirit as 'proceeding' from the Son, he permits himself to speak of His derivation "from Both[4]." 'God," he says, "is Life, the Son Life from (ἐκ) Life, and the Holy Spirit flows from Both; the Father is Light, the Son Light of Light, the Holy Spirit the third Light from (παρά) Father and Son[5]."

Two Epiphanian creeds.

The *Ancoratus* ends[6] with two interesting creed-forms. The first of these purports to be the baptismal creed of Epiphanius's own Church, but is in fact a revision of the creed of Jerusalem, and was afterwards attributed to the Council of Constantinople[7]. Here for the first time we find the phrase now so familiar to all communicant members of the Church, "the Lord and giver of life, who proceedeth from

[1] *Ib.* 8 ἐν μέσῳ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ, ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ.

[2] *Ib.* 9.

[3] *Ib.* 11.

[4] παρ' ἀμφοτέρων.

[5] *Ib.* 70 f.

[6] *Ib.* 129 f. See the text in Hahn-Harnack, pp. 134—7; Kattenbusch, *das apost. Symbol*, i. p. 273 ff.

[7] Hort, *Constantinopolitan Creed*, p. 74 ff.

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the Father, who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified[1]." The second of the Epiphanian creeds is described as an instruction for catechumens approved by "all the orthodox bishops," and following the lines of the Nicene faith. In it the article relating to the Holy Spirit takes the following form: "We believe also in the Holy Spirit, who spake in the Law and preached in the Prophets, came down on the Jordan, speaks in the Apostles, dwells in the saints; and we believe in Him on this wise, that He is the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of God, the perfect Spirit, the Paraclete Spirit, increate, proceeding from the Father, and received[2] from the Son, and the object of faith (*πιστευόμενον*). And those who say that there once was when the Son was not, or the Holy Spirit, or that He was made of that which is not, or of a different hypostasis or ousia, affirming that the Son of God or the Holy Spirit is liable to change or variation, such the catholic and apostolic Church anathematizes[3]." The document ends with the words; "in Christ Jesus our Lord, through whom and with whom be glory to the Father with the Holy Spirit for ever."

The *Panarion.*

A little later than the *Ancoratus*, but still before

[1] *κύριον καὶ ζωοποιόν, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, τὸ σὺν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ συνπροσκυνούμενον καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον.*

[2] *λαμβανόμενον. Fors. leg.* λαμβάνον, 'receiving,' as repeatedly in the *Ancoratus.*

[3] Nearly identical with the Nicene anathema, but with the added words "or the Holy Spirit." The addition is probably due to Epiphanius himself.

381, Epiphanius wrote his great work 'against all the heresies,' which he called the *Panarion.* In the chapters which deal with Arianism, Semiarianism, and Anomoeanism, he has frequent occasion to refer to the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. The *Panarion* repeats the language of the *Ancoratus* on this subject, and here and there improves upon it. "The Father is unbegotten, increate, incomprehensible; the Son is begotten, but increate and incomprehensible; the Holy Spirit is neither begotten nor created...but of the same substance with the Father and the Son[1]." The Holy Spirit has His personal subsistence from the Father through the Son[2]. He is "of the substance of the Father and the Son[3]." This is not very far from the *Filioque*, but Epiphanius seems to avoid the phrase "proceeding from the Father and the Son," although he thinks of the Divine Essence itself as passing eternally from the Father through the Son or, less exactly, from Both, into the Person of the Holy Ghost.

[1] *Haer.* lxxiv. 12.

[2] *Haer.* lxxiii. 16 ἐκ πατρὸς δι' υἱοῦ ὑφεστῶτα.

[3] *Haer.* lxxvi. 11 τοῦ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ ἀσυγκρίτου πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ ὄντος.

IV.

THE CAPPADOCIANS.

Part II. iv.

NEITHER Egypt nor Cyprus can claim the honour of having given to the doctrine of the Holy Trinity the intellectual form which ultimately prevailed throughout the Greek-speaking East. That distinction belongs to the province of Cappadocia, which in a single generation produced the three great theologians—Basil, Bishop of the Cappadocian Caesarea, his brother Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa, and his friend, Gregory of Nazianzus[1].

Basil of Caesarea.

Basil may be regarded as the successor of Athanasius in the championship of the Nicene faith. But to the imperturbable orthodoxy of the great Alexandrian he added a subtlety of thought fed in early life upon Greek philosophy and guided into Christian ways by the enthusiastic study of Origen. He was perhaps still only a presbyter when he entered the lists against Eunomius, the Anomoean leader, who had defended his views in an elaborate Apology. More plain-spoken than Macedonius, Eunomius boldly maintained that the Holy Spirit was third not only in dignity and order but in nature also; that He was made by the Son at the bidding

Adv. Eunomium.

[1] On the theology of the Cappadocians see Dr Srawley's article in Hastings, *Dict. of Religion and Ethics*, iii. p. 212 ff.

of the Father—the first and greatest of the works of the Only-begotten, but yet a creature possessing no creative power[1]. To this Basil replied that even granting that the Spirit is third both in order and in dignity, it does not follow that He is third in nature. Early and respected authorities may be quoted for the former statements, but not for the latter. The Son is second in order, and, as some will say, in dignity; yet He is "God, of God." Can a created nature be classed with God and the Son of God in one Divine Trinity?[2]

De Spiritu Sancto.

In this early work the question of the Holy Spirit's nature is but slightly treated. Basil's classical work on the subject belongs to his episcopate, and arose out of an attack which was made upon him by certain of his flock who were infected by Pneumatomachian views. The Bishop had been charged with inconsistency and innovation because in conducting public worship he had used two forms of doxology, sometimes glorifying the Father "through the Son, in the Holy Spirit[3]," and at other times using the phrase "in fellowship with the Son, together with the Spirit[4]." The *De Spiritu Sancto*

[1] *Adv. Eun.* iii. 1, 5 *τρίτον αὐτὸ ἀξιώματι καὶ τάξει μαθόντες, τρίτον εἶναι καὶ τῇ φύσει πεπιστεύκαμεν...πρῶτον καὶ μεῖζον ἁπάντων, καὶ μόνον τοιοῦτον τοῦ μονογενοῦς ποίημα, θεότητος καὶ δημιουργικῆς δυνάμεως λειπόμενον.*

[2] The fifth book *Against Eunomius* contains a more elaborate refutation of the Anomoean position, but its genuineness is at least doubtful.

[3] *διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι* (*De Sp. S.* i. 3).

[4] *μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ σὺν τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ* (*ibid.*).

Part II. iv.

is Basil's answer. He defends both forms, urging that the latter is not new, and that there is authority for the use of both. Scripture, his opponents urged, is careful in the choice of prepositions; the phrases 'of the Father,' 'through the Son,' 'in the Holy Spirit' are scriptural, and set forth the distinctions which subsist between the Persons, 'of' marking the Creator, and 'by' the instrument He employs, while 'in' refers to the conditions of place and time[1]. Basil replies that in matter of fact these distinctions are not always observed in Scripture, where on occasions we find 'of' or 'from' used with reference to the Son[2], 'through' with reference to the Father[3], and both 'of' and 'through' with reference to the Holy Spirit[4]; "in God" occurs in more than one passage[5]. Thus the argument from Scripture breaks down under examination. As for the proposal to express the relation of the Son to the Father by 'after' and the relation of the Spirit to the Father and the Son by 'under[6],' such a subordination (*ὑποταγή*) and subnumeration (*ὑπαρίθμησις*) are wholly unauthorized by Scripture and the traditions of the Church.

Basil now proceeds[7] to consider more particularly

[1] Basil attributes this "old device" to Aetius, the Anomoean master of Eunomius.

[2] E.g., Eph. iv. 16; Col. ii. 19.

[3] E.g., Gal. iv. 7.

[4] E.g., Gal. vi. 8; 1 Cor. ii. 10.

[5] E.g., 1 Thess. i. 1; Rom. i. 10, ii. 17.

[6] *μετὰ τὸν πατέρα, ὑπὸ τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τὸν πατέρα* (*De Sp. S.* vi. § 13).

[7] *De Sp. S.* ix.

the doctrine of the Holy Spirit's person. In view of the titles which the Spirit bears in Scripture—'Spirit of God,' 'Spirit of Truth,' 'Holy Spirit'—the last being "His proper and peculiar appellation[1]"—we cannot think of His nature being circumscribed or liable, as created natures are, to change. Rather, He must be conceived of as an intelligent Essence of unlimited power, magnitude, and duration, whose goodness overflows to all that turn to it for sanctification; a Power simple in essence, manifold in its potencies, wholly present in each individual, and yet present everywhere. Souls that carry the presence of the Spirit, and are illuminated by it, not only themselves become spiritual but emit grace to others. It is from this source that men receive foreknowledge, the understanding of mysteries, a share in spiritual gifts, the heavenly citizenship, a place in the company of Angels, endless joy, the power to dwell in God, to become like God, and that highest end after which the creature can reach[2], to be made partaker of the Divine nature.

From this high level Basil descends to meet objections in detail[3]. We are told that 'the Holy Spirit cannot properly be placed in the same category with the Father and the Son, seeing that He is inferior to Both in dignity and foreign to them in nature[4].' But that is in fact an objection not so

[1] ἡ κυρία αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰδιάζουσα κλῆσις.

[2] τὸ ἀκρότατον τῶν ὀρεκτῶν, θεὸν γενέσθαι. [3] *De Sp. S.* x. ff.

[4] οὐ χρή, φασί, πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ συντετάχθαι διά τε τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀλλότριον καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀξίας καταδεές.

Part II. iv.

much to Catholic practice as to the form of Baptism prescribed by the Lord Himself. And this reply cannot be set aside by urging that the Apostles baptized in the name of Jesus only, or by adducing instances in which angels are associated with the Father and the Son[1]; or again by quoting St Paul's statement that the Israelites were baptized into Moses, or by appealing to the fact that water is joined with the Spirit in the act of Baptism. Not only the Baptismal formula but all Scripture goes to shew that the Holy Spirit is inseparable from the Father and the Son; you can no more separate the Spirit of God from the Godhead than you can separate the human spirit from the nature of man. As for the 'subnumeration' of which our opponents talk, the notion is absurd and indeed unthinkable; do they mean to say that the God of the Universe is divided into separate entities, one of which is to be 'subnumerated' to another? For the sake of convenience we may speak of the Second and Third Persons of the Trinity, but there cannot be in fact any 'second' or 'third' in God. The Unity lies in the common Godhead of the Three[2]. The Son, who is one, unites the one Spirit to the one Father, and the Spirit by His union with Both completes the circle of the blessed Trinity[3]. When we say that

[1] E.g., 1 Tim. v. 21.

[2] *De Sp. S.* xviii. § 45 ἐν τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῆς θεότητός ἐστιν ἡ ἕνωσις.

[3] ἓν δὲ καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα...δι' ἑνὸς υἱοῦ τῷ ἑνὶ πατρὶ συναπτόμενον καὶ δι' ἑαυτοῦ συμπληροῦν τὴν πολυύμνητον καὶ μακαρίαν τριάδα.

the Spirit is of God (ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ), we do not mean in the same sense in which all things are of God, but as proceeding from God, not by way of generation as the Son does, but as the Breath of His mouth; yet not like our breath that vanishes, but as a living essence which has the power to sanctify—a Person whose relationship to God is revealed by His procession, but the manner of whose being is kept secret and is ineffable[1]. When, again, He is called the Spirit of Christ, we mean that He is by nature closely related to the Son[2]. As "none knows the Father but the Son," so "none can say 'Jesus is Lord' but in the Holy Spirit." The way to the knowledge of God begins with One Spirit and leads through the One Son to the One Father. Or, to reverse the order, the goodness of nature and the power to sanctify which are natural to God, and the sovereign dignity, proceed from the Father through the Only-begotten and thus reach the Spirit[3]. To speak of 'subnumeration' in connexion with the Trinity is to import Greek polytheism into Christian theology, and practically to recognize a first, a second, and a third Deity.

[1] *Ib.* 46 ὡς ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ προελθόν, οὐ γεννητῶς ὡς ὁ υἱὸς ἀλλ' ὡς πνεῦμα στόματος αὐτοῦ...οὐσία ζῶσα, ἁγιασμοῦ κυρία, τῆς μὲν οἰκειότητος δηλουμένης ἐντεῦθεν, τοῦ δὲ τρόπου τῆς ὑπάρξεως ἀρρήτου φυλασσομένου.

[2] ᾠκειωμένου κατὰ φύσιν αὐτῷ.

[3] *Ib.* 47 ἡ τοίνυν ὁδὸς τῆς θεογνωσίας ἐστὶν ἀπὸ ἑνὸς πνεύματος διὰ τοῦ ἑνὸς υἱοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν ἕνα πατέρα, καὶ ἀνάπαλιν ἡ φυσικὴ ἀγαθότης καὶ ὁ κατὰ φύσιν ἁγιασμὸς καὶ τὸ βασιλικὸν ἀξίωμα ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς διὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς ἐπὶ τὸ πνεῦμα διήκει.

Part II. iv.

'But conceding this,' it is urged, 'you have no right to join the Spirit's name with the Father's and the Son's in a doxology.' Why not? The Spirit is holy and upright and good, as the Father and the Son are. Think of His operations, their countless number, their unspeakable greatness, and their boundless range, before creation, in the creature, in the ages to come. Ask yourselves whether such a Person can be regarded as a fellow servant with such as we are. The "servant knoweth not what his lord doeth," but the Spirit knows the very "depths of God." It is in vain to answer that the Spirit is neither servant nor lord, but is 'free[1].' No nature is free in this sense, unless it is supreme. Either the Spirit is a creature, or He is above the creation; there is no middle term. Scripture calls Him Lord (κυριολογούσης)[2], and assigns to Him attributes and acts which justify us in giving Him the honour due to God.

To return to the form of the doxology. Scripture uses neither 'in' nor 'with' in any of its ascriptions of praise; both however are theologically correct, and both have been used by the Church. As for the phrase "together with the Holy Spirit," it means neither more nor less than "and the Holy Spirit" in the Baptismal formula; and for our part we should be prepared to revert to the conjunction. But such a concession will by no means satisfy our adversaries, who cling passionately to 'in,' under

[1] *De Sp. S.* xx. § 51.

[2] The reference is to 2 Cor. iii. 17, 18.

the impression that it tends to lower the dignity of the Spirit. Yet 'in the Spirit' as used in the doxology refers not to the relation of the Spirit to the Father and the Son, but to His relation to us, who can render glory to God only in the Spirit, as we can approach Him only through the Son. But if this form of doxology, so understood, is theologically correct, why do we insist on our right to use at our discretion the disputed form? We do so because it has come down to us as a part of the unwritten tradition of the Church. To relinquish ancient forms and customs, merely because they have no direct support from Scripture, would be to inflict a fatal injury on the Gospel[1]. Time-honoured practices such as signing ourselves with the Cross, turning to the East when we pray, the invocation of the Holy Spirit at the Eucharist, the benediction of the water at Baptism, and even the Creed itself would disappear, if we admitted no custom or form of words which was not to be found in the *lex scripta* of Christianity. Moreover, both the forms in question have their use; for if the one proclaims our dependence on the Spirit in our acts of prayer and praise, the other confesses His oneness with the Father and the Son in the mystery of the Holy Trinity, and it is virtually based on the words of Christ. We believe as we were baptized, and our doxology is in accord with our belief. Basil ends

[1] εἰ γὰρ ἐπεχειρήσαιμεν τὰ ἄγραφα τῶν ἐθῶν ὡς μὴ μεγάλην ἔχοντα τὴν δύναμιν παραιτεῖσθαι, λαθοιμεν ἂν εἰς αὐτὰ τὰ καίρια ζημιοῦντες τὸ εὐαγγέλιον (*de Sp. S.* xxvii. § 66).

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with a remarkable catena from Church writers of the first three centuries who used the doxology which his opponents condemned. The list includes Clement of Rome, Irenaeus, Origen, both Dionysii, and the Cappadocian bishops Firmilian and Gregory of Neo-Caesarea. "Assuredly," he exclaims, "it is not I that am the innovator: the innovators are on the other side, where they abound[1]."

Letters.

The correspondence of Basil shews how deeply rooted in his personal life were the convictions which he maintained in his formal treatise on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. The letters which relate to the subject[2] belong to various periods in his life, but chiefly, as it appears, to his episcopate (370–9). Some of them[3] are addressed to ordinary laymen and laywomen, and in these Basil is content to enforce the elements of the Catholic faith. Others, such as the important letters to his brother Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa, and to Count Terentius, and the document which Eustathius of Sebaste was required to sign[4], are of dogmatic importance, and in these new points are occasionally made. A few of them may be noted here. (*a*) Emphasis is laid on the necessity for distinguishing between Essence (*οὐσία*) and Person (*ὑπόστασις*), especially in view of the renewed Sabellianism which was abroad.

[1] §§ 75, 77 *πῶς οὖν ἐγὼ καινοτόμος;...τοῖς νεωτεροποιοῖς εὐπορία τῶν συστασιαζόντων πολλή.*

[2] *Epp.* 8, 38, 52, 90, 105, 125, 129, 159, 189, 210, 214, 226, 258.

[3] E.g., *Epp.* 8, 52, 159, 189.

[4] *Epp.* 38, 214; 125.

(*b*) Basil's view of the Procession comes more clearly into view. "The Holy Spirit is attached to the Son, with whom He is apprehended inseparably; while His being depends upon the Father as Cause, from whom also He proceeds. The Person of the Spirit is characterized by the two-fold note of deriving subsistence from the Father, and being known as following after and with the Son[1]." (*c*) The interior relations of the Divine Persons are shewn to have a deep significance for the spiritual life of men. "As he who lays hold of one end of a chain pulls the other to him, so he who draws the Spirit draws to himself through the Spirit the Son and the Father[2]. And so, if one truly receives the Son, the Son will bring with Him on either hand the presence of His Father and that of His own Holy Spirit; likewise he who receives the Father receives also in effect the Son and the Spirit. So ineffable and so far beyond our understanding are both the common life and the distinct personal subsistence of the Divine hypostases[3]."

Basil's treatment of the whole subject is dis-

[1] *Ep.* 38. 4 τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα...τοῦ υἱοῦ μὲν ἤρτηται, ᾧ ἀδιαστάτως συγκαταλαμβάνεται, τῆς δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς αἰτίας ἐξημμένον ἔχει τὸ εἶναι, ὅθεν καὶ ἐκπορεύεται· τοῦτο γνωριστικὸν τῆς κατὰ τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἰδιότητος σημεῖον ἔχει, τὸ μετὰ τὸν υἱὸν καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ γνωρίζεσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑφεστάναι.

[2] ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀλύσεως ὁ τοῦ ἑνὸς ἄκρου ἁψάμενος, καὶ τὸ ἕτερον ἄκρον συνεπεσπάσατο, οὕτως ὁ τὸ πνεῦμα ἑλκύσας...δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τὸν πατέρα συνεφειλκύσατο.

[3] ἀλλά τις ἄρρητος καὶ ἀκατανόητος ἐν τούτοις καταλαμβάνεται καὶ ἡ κοινωνία καὶ ἡ διάκρισις.

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tinguished by the reverent awe, the uplifted attitude of mind, the spirit of devout self-restraint with which he approaches a heated controversy. If he strongly deprecated Eunomian and Macedonian teaching, he did so on religious grounds, because he knew it to be 'soul-destroying'[1]; because it grieved the Spirit, on whose grace the very life of the soul depends. Neither in Basil's letters nor in his formal treatises do we encounter anywhere the polemical theologian who finds pleasure in mere logomachy. Others may have carried the doctrine of the Holy Spirit somewhat further, but no ancient writer either in East or West shews more sympathy with his subject, or treats it more worthily.

Gregory of Nazianzus.

In the year of St Basil's death his friend Gregory of Nazianzus, Bishop of Sasima, was called to Constantinople to reorganize the small Catholic minority which languished in the capital. His five great *Theological Orations* probably belong to the following year (380)[2]; the last of them is a pronouncement on the theology of the Holy Spirit which, delivered at the heart of the Empire on the eve of the Council which was summoned to reaffirm the Nicene Faith, must at the time have exercised a greater influence than fell to the lot of Basil's treatise. It will be worth while to take our place among Gregory's audience in the Church of the Anastasis, and to follow the thread of this greatest of all sermons on the doctrine of the Spirit.

Theological Orations.

[1] *Ep.* 210 δηλητήρια ψυχῶν.

[2] Mason, *Theological Orations*, p. x.

There are those (he begins) who would find life intolerable if they had no opportunity for irreverence. Now that their attack on the Son has been checked, they must needs turn against the Holy Spirit: "Whence, they ask, this strange God, unknown to Scripture, that you are importing into Christianity?"

The Sadducees said that there was "no Spirit." Greek pagan writers who were theologically disposed, and approached our position more nearly, spoke of "the Mind of the Universe." Our own wise men have variously thought of the Spirit as an energy or a creature; others have called Him God, while others cannot decide the point, out of reverence (so they say) for Scripture, which has left it undetermined. These last neither worship the Spirit nor refuse Him this honour, taking a middle course which may be better described as a very miserable one. I have heard some, who claim to be wiser than the rest, dividing the Godhead into three entities so far removed from one another that they describe one of them as unlimited in essence and power, the second as unlimited in power but not in essence, and the third as circumscribed in both.

I am concerned here (Gregory proceeds) with Christians only. To them let me say this. The Holy Spirit has either a substantive or a contingent existence. If the latter, the Spirit is simply a Divine activity, which has no power to work without the Worker. Yet Scripture speaks of the Spirit as capable of the actions and emotions of a person. If He is a person, He must be either a creature or

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God; He cannot be something between the two, partaking of the nature of both, or compounded of the two. If He is a creature, how can we believe in Him, or be perfected by Him? If He is God, how dare we call Him a "creature" or our "fellow servant," or by any name which is unworthy of Deity?

What is our adversary's case? He meets us with a counter alternative. "If the Spirit is God, is He generate or ingenerate?" Suppose we answer "Ingenerate," we are charged with holding two Principles[1]. Or suppose we say "Generate," the objector is ready with the further question, "From the Father or from the Son?" adding "If from the Father, there are two Sons." But what if we do not admit that the Spirit must be either generate or ingenerate? what if we maintain that the Holy Spirit is neither generate nor ingenerate, but proceeding?

"But wherein?" we are asked, "does the Spirit, as you represent Him, fall short of Sonship?" It is not a case of falling short, but of differentiation between two co-equal Persons; the Three are one in Godhead, and the One three in hypostasis. "Is the Spirit, then, God?" Certainly. "Is he co-essential?" Yes, since he is God. "But if so, why do we not find worship and prayer addressed to Him in Scripture?" Because in the order of our approaches to God we pray in the Spirit, and therefore not directly to Him. But the worship of one Person in the

[1] *Th. or.* v. 7 ἢ ἀγέννητον πάντως ἢ γεννητόν· καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀγέννητον, δύο τὰ ἄναρχα.

Trinity implies the worship of the Three, for the Three are one in honour and Godhead. As for the argument that since all things were made by the Son, the Spirit is one of His creatures, it proves too much; for it would place the Father Himself in the category of the creature. And as for the charge of tritheism lately revived by the Macedonians: if we are tritheists, they by parity of reasoning are ditheists, since they recognize the Godhead of the Son. But our creed is not tritheistic; we refer the three Persons in whom we believe to One Source, and thus we secure the Divine Unity[1]. Part II. iv.

Lastly, as for the silence of Scripture in regard to the Deity of the Holy Spirit, there is a perfect swarm (ἑσμός) of scriptural testimonies to this truth[2]. I shudder to think of the wealth of evidence in the way of Divine titles which the adversaries of the Spirit are not ashamed to reject. He is called in Scripture the Spirit of God, the Spirit of Christ, the Mind of Christ, the Spirit of the Lord, and even the Lord; the Spirit of adoption, truth, liberty; the Spirit of wisdom, understanding, counsel, might, knowledge, godliness, the fear of God—of all which things He is the author. He is the Spirit that fills all things with Himself, holds all things together, yea, that can fill the world with its essence, while the world cannot contain its power; a Spirit good, upright, sovereign, and all this by nature and not by

[1] *Ib.* 14 πρὸς ἓν τὰ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἔχει, κἂν τρία πιστεύηται.

[2] *Ib.* 29.

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adoption; a Spirit that sanctifies, but needs not to be sanctified; that measures, but cannot be measured; that does not partake of aught, but is partaken of; that fills, but is not filled; that holds, but is not held; that knows all things, that teaches, that blows where it will and how it will; that guides, speaks, sends, separates, is provoked, is tempted; that is able to reveal, to enlighten, to quicken, or rather that is the very Light and Life[1]; that makes men temples, yea gods, and perfects them[2]; working all that God works; parted in fiery tongues, dividing spiritual gifts, making apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers; a Spirit intelligent...all-powerful, all-supervising, passing through all intelligent, pure, and subtle spirits whether angelic or human, at the same moment in places not the same, and thus shewn to be uncircumscribed, free from the limitations which control created life. Writers who say such things of the Spirit clearly proclaim Him to be God, though they may not call Him so.

No figure of speech[3], no imagery borrowed from the visible world, can set forth the Divine Life in its tripersonal Unity. The familiar comparison of the Persons to spring, stream, and river, or to sun, ray, and light[4], are imperfect and open to objection, unless we apply the figure but in part. For myself I prefer to refuse the help of images and shadows as inadequate or misleading, and while holding fast to

[1] φωτιστικόν, ζωτικόν, μᾶλλον δὲ αὐτόφως καὶ ζωή.

[2] ναοποιοῦν, θεοποιοῦν, τελειοῦν.

[3] *Ib.* 31 ff. [4] Cf. p. 106.

the more reverent conception of the mystery, to take my stand upon a few words[1]. So, with the Spirit as my Guide, and keeping to the end the illumination received from that source as the true partner and companion of my days, I would cut my way through the perplexities of life, and win all others, so far as I can, to the worship of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, the One Godhead and the One Power; to whom be all glory, honour, and power for ever and ever.

The "few words," which the great preacher of 380 judged to be essential to a careful statement of the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity, stand out prominently both in this sermon and in Gregory's other discourses. He insists chiefly on the unity of the Divine Essence and the distinctness of the Persons. Some things there are which the Persons have in common as God, and some which belong to one of the Persons and not to the other two. It is common to the Father, Son, and Spirit to possess the Divine life to which there was no beginning; but it is proper to the Father to be ingenerate, to the Son to be generate, to the Spirit to proceed[2]. As to the precise use of theological terms Gregory is less careful. "God is Three," he preaches, "if you have regard to the properties or hypostases or persons—call them by which name you will, for we shall not fight over the

[1] *τῆς εὐσεβεστέρας ἐννοίας ἐχόμενον, ἐπ' ὀλίγων ῥημάτων ἱστάμενον.*

[2] *Or.* xxv. (Migne, *P. G.* xxxv. 1221) *ἴδιον δὲ πατρὸς μὲν ἡ ἀγεννησία, υἱοῦ δὲ ἡ γέννησις, πνεύματος δὲ ἡ ἔκπεμψις.*

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names, so long as they lead to the same conception[1]" —an attitude which reminds us of Athanasius and the Alexandrian Council of 361. Still less is he willing to allow theological controversy to be made an occasion for curious or irreverent enquiry. "Do you ask what is meant by the procession of the Spirit? Tell me what you mean by the Father being ingenerate, and I will give you the physiology of the Son's generation and the Spirit's procession. Who are we that we should handle matters such as these? we who cannot count the sand of the sea or the drops of rain or the days of eternity, not to speak of intruding into the depths of God and giving an account of a Nature so far beyond our words and our reason[2]." "It is enough to be able to distinguish the Persons by the use of terms which accord with the revealed manner of the subsistence of each, and with regard to the Person of the Spirit to say that He goes forth from the Father, but not as a Son, since He is produced not by generation but by procession. It is only for the sake of clearness that we are compelled to use these novel terms[3]." The same depth

[1] *Or.* xxxix. (Migne, *P. G.* xxxvi. 345) *τρισὶ μὲν κατὰ τὰς ἰδιότητας εἴτουν ὑποστάσεις, εἴ τινι φίλον καλεῖν, εἴτε πρόσωπα· οὐδὲν γὰρ περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων λογομαχήσομεν, ἕως ἂν πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν ἔννοιαν αἱ συλλαβαὶ φέρωσιν.*

[2] *Th. or.* v. 8 *εἰπὲ σὺ τὴν ἀγεννησίαν τοῦ πατρός, κἀγὼ τὴν γέννησιν τοῦ υἱοῦ φυσιολογήσω, καὶ τὴν ἐκπόρευσιν τοῦ πνεύματος...καὶ ταῦτα τίνες; οἱ μηδὲ τὰ ἐν ποσὶν εἰδέναι δυνάμενοι...μὴ ὅτι γε θεοῦ βάθεσιν ἐμβατεύειν καὶ λόγον ὑπέχειν τῆς οὕτως ἀρρήτου καὶ ὑπὲρ λόγον φύσεως.*

[3] *Or.* xxxii. (Migne, *P. G.* xxxvi. 347) *προϊὸν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς*

of religious feeling shews itself in Gregory of Nazianzus that we have noticed in the writings of Basil, his friend and fellow-Cappadocian.

Gregory of Nyssa.

The third of the great Cappadocians, Gregory of Nyssa, was perhaps less of the saint and guide of souls than his brother Basil and his namesake of Nazianzus, but more of the philosopher and scientific theologian. His *Catechetical Oration* presents a remarkable contrast to the *Catechetical Lectures* of Cyril of Jerusalem. It is addressed to catechists, not to catechumens, and its purpose is to assist those who were called to meet the difficulties of the educated converts who in the fourth century flocked into the Church from the ranks of Greek paganism, Judaism, Manicheanism, and other non-Christian systems, and to fortify them against Christian heresies. Thus the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, so fully dealt with by Cyril, receives a comparatively meagre treatment in the work of Gregory and is approached from a different point of view. Gregory starts by pointing to the analogy of human nature; as our breath goes out with our words, so, it is reasonable to suppose, the Divine Word is accompanied by the Divine Breath. And as the Word of God has a personal existence, so the Breath of God which goes forth with the Word must be held to be a living Power which has a hypostasis of its own—a hypostasis, however, inseparable from God whose Breath it is and from the Word whom it

Catechetical Oration.

οὐχ ὑϊκῶς δέ, οὐδὲ γὰρ γεννητῶς, ἀλλ' ἐκπορευτῶς, εἰ δεῖ τι καὶ καινοτομῆσαι περὶ τὰ ὀνόματα σαφηνείας ἕνεκεν.

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attends[1]. To regard the Son and the Spirit as created beings is to renounce the hope of entering upon a higher life at Baptism, for mere creatures cannot raise men to a level above their own. It would, in fact, be more consistent for those who deny the Godhead of the Son or of the Spirit to refuse to include those Persons in their baptismal creed[2].

This is loyal to the Nicene faith, and interesting; but it is remarkably slight as a handling of a subject which, when Gregory wrote, must still have been hotly debated both in Christian and non-Christian circles. But he compensates for this disappointing brevity in other works. Like Basil, Gregory wrote an answer to Eunomius, and a treatise on the Holy Spirit, the latter directed against the Macedonians; and he deals with the doctrine of the Spirit also in his short but important writings *Against Tritheism*, *On Common Notions*, and *On Faith*, or, *On the Father, Son and Holy Spirit*[3]. It is unnecessary to repeat the well-worn arguments in which Gregory follows his predecessors, but a few extracts may serve to shew his method of conducting the controversy, and how it differed both from Basil's and from his namesake's.

Against Eunomius.

"The Holy Spirit," he writes, "in His uncreated nature has fellowship with the Father and the Son, and on the other hand is distinguished from Them

[1] *Or. catech.* 2 δύναμιν οὐσιώδη αὐτὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς ἐν ἰδιαζούσῃ ὑποστάσει θεωρουμένην, οὔτε χωρισθῆναι τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν ᾧ ἔστιν, ἢ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ θεοῦ ᾧ παρομαρτεῖ, δυναμένην. [2] *Ib.* 39.

[3] These can be read in Migne, *P. G.* xlv.

by notes peculiar to Himself (τοῖς ἰδίοις γνωρίσμασιν). His most characteristic note is that He is none of those things which are rightly believed to be proper to the Father and the Son; that He is neither Unbegotten nor Only-begotten, but simply is what He is. One with the Father in so far as He is increate, He is distinguished from the Father in that He is not Father; one with the Son both as increate and as deriving His subsistence from the God of all, He is differentiated from the Son in that He is not Only-begotten and has been manifested through the Son. From the creature, again, with which He might be thought to have something in common, the Holy Spirit is distinguished by His unchangeableness and by being independent of any external goodness[1]." On the order of the Persons Gregory writes: "As the Son is united with the Father, and though He derives His being from the Father is not posterior to Him in regard to His subsistence; so the Holy Spirit is attached to the Only-begotten, who is regarded as anterior to the Person of the Spirit, but is so only in thought and with regard to the principle of causation; for periods of time have no place in a life which was before the world began[2]."

But it is in the brief tracts *Against Tritheism*[3] and *On Common Notions* that Gregory of Nyssa exhibits most clearly the scientific basis of his

[1] *Contr. Eun.* i. § 22 (Migne, *P. G.* xlv. 355 f.).

[2] *Ib.* § 42 (Migne, 464).

[3] Περὶ τοῦ μὴ εἶναι τρεῖς θεούς, and Ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν ἐννοιῶν (*ib.* 115—136, 171—185).

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trinitarian doctrine. God, he explains, is a name for an Essence, not for a Person; and therefore, though we may say 'God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost,' i.e., we may name three Persons who have the one and selfsame Divine Essence, we may not speak of 'three Gods,' for the essence is but one. Yet if Peter, James, and John, three individuals who had a common human nature, may be spoken of as three men, why may we not describe Father, Son, and Holy Spirit as three Gods? It is not enough to answer that such language takes us back to polytheism; we have to shew that our own doctrine of the Trinity is not polytheistic. In the first place we contend that even in the case of human nature the plural 'men' is not strictly correct. 'Man' properly stands for human nature, which is one in all; and, to be quite accurate, we should speak of 'human individuals' or 'persons' rather than of 'men.' But further, the two cases are not entirely parallel, for the analogy between human nature and the Divine is not complete. Each human individual has his individual work, and does it independently[1]. In God there is no such separate action on the part of the three Persons; the Father does nothing by Himself in which the Son is not joined with Him, nor again does the Son work apart from the Spirit[2]. Every activity which

[1] *Quod non sint tres dii* (Migne, *P. G.* xlv. 125) ἑκάστου αὐτῶν εἰς ἰδίαν περιγραφὴν κατὰ τὸ ἰδιότροπον τῆς ἐνεργείας ἀποτεμνομένου τῶν ἄλλων.

[2] *Ib.* ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς θείας φύσεως οὐχ οὕτως ἐμάθομεν ὅτι ὁ πατὴρ ποιεῖ τι καθ' ἑαυτόν...ἢ πάλιν ὁ υἱὸς ἰδιαζόντως ἐνεργεῖ τι χωρὶς τοῦ πνεύματος.

coming from God reaches the creature, originates with the Father, goes forth through the Son, and is perfected in the Holy Spirit[1].

If it be objected that this doctrine of 'one operation' involves a confusion of the hypostases, Gregory has his answer ready in a theory of the relations which subsist between the Divine Persons. "We do not deny," he says, "the difference between them which is by way of 'cause' and 'caused,' and by this alone can we conceive of one being distinguished from the other, namely by the belief that one is 'Cause,' and another 'from the Cause.' In the case of those who are from the Cause we recognize a further difference; one is derived immediately from the first, and the other through that which comes immediately from the first. Thus the mediating position of the Son in the Divine life guards His sole right to the name of Son, while it does not exclude the Spirit from His natural relationship to the Father[2]. But when we speak thus of 'cause' and 'caused,' we do not intend by the use of these words to indicate a difference of nature,

[1] *πᾶσα ἐνέργεια ἡ θεόθεν ἐπὶ τὴν κτίσιν διήκουσα ἐκ πατρὸς ἀφορμᾶται καὶ διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ πρόεισι καὶ ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ τελειοῦται.*

[2] *Ib.* 133 *τὴν κατὰ τὸ αἴτιον καὶ αἰτιατὸν διαφορὰν οὐκ ἀρνούμεθα, ἐν ᾧ μόνῳ διακρίνεσθαι τὸ ἕτερον τοῦ ἑτέρου καταλαμβάνομεν, τῷ τὸ μὲν αἴτιον πιστεύειν εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ αἰτίου· καὶ τοῦ ἐξ αἰτίας ὄντως πάλιν ἄλλην διαφορὰν ἐννοοῦμεν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ προσεχῶς ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου, τὸ δὲ διὰ τοῦ προσεχῶς ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου...τῆς τοῦ υἱοῦ μεσιτείας καὶ αὐτῷ τὸ μονογενὲς φυλαττούσης, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς φυσικῆς πρὸς τὸν πατέρα σχέσεως μὴ ἀπειργούσης.*

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but one which relates only to the manner of existence (τὸ πῶς εἶναι)."

It may be doubted whether any subsequent writer, in East or West, has approached nearer to a satisfactory statement of the relation which, according to the laws of human thought, the Divine Persons may be conceived to hold towards one another. The Father is the Cause (αἴτιον), the Son and the Spirit are 'caused' (αἰτιατόν) or from the Cause (ἐκ τοῦ αἰτίου, ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου); the Son deriving His subsistence immediately from the Father, the Spirit also deriving from the Father, but mediately through the Son. But these differences do not touch the Essence, which is one and the same in all the three hypostases.

Amphilochius.

One other Cappadocian teacher deserves to be mentioned here, Amphilochius, Bishop of Iconium, (373—? 400), the friend of Basil at whose suggestion the *De Spiritu Sancto* was written. Jerome speaks of a book with the same title by Amphilochius himself. But it has disappeared, and our only materials for a study of the pneumatology of Amphilochius are to be found in a synodical letter which is attributed to the year 396, and a few fragments preserved by Theodoret, John of Damascus, and other later writers. So far as a judgement can be formed from these scanty data, it was the rôle of Amphilochius rather to defend and propagate the faith as it was taught by Basil than to contribute anything of his own. His theological statements are characterized by simplicity and clearness rather

than by eloquence or high thinking: he approaches Christian doctrine rather as the pastor than as the student[1]. Yet his words are not unworthy of a scholar of Basil. A few extracts will suffice to make his position clear. "For those who read with understanding the doctrine of the Spirit as set forth in the Nicene faith is sufficient[2]." "We speak of Trinity in Unity, and Unity in Trinity[3]." "The Father is in the Son, and the Son in the Father; the Holy Spirit we confess to be in the Father and the Son[4]." "The Spirit proceeds timelessly (*ἀχρόνως*) from the Father, and is co-eternal (*συνάναρχον*) with the Father and the Son[5]." "I believe the Holy Spirit to proceed eternally (*ἀϊδίως*) from God the Father. I do not speak of the procession of the Spirit as 'generation,' or of the generation of the Son as 'procession.' When I use the word 'consubstantial,' I refer not to one Person but to Three[6]." "The difference is in the Persons, not in the Essence. Father, Son and Holy Spirit are names for a mode of existence or a relation, not for essence simply[7]." We miss in these statements the finer touches of Basil, the eloquence of

[1] For a full treatment of Amphilochius see Holl, *A. von Ikonium*; especially the account of his pneumatology, p. 238 ff.

[2] *Ep. Synod.* (Migne, *P. G.* xxxix. 95).

[3] *Fragm.* iv. (*ib.* 101) *λέγεται .. τριὰς ἐν μονάδι καὶ μονὰς ἐν τριάδι.*

[4] *Fragm.* xv. (*ib.* 112).

[5] *Fragm.* xiii. (*ib.* 110).

[6] *Ib.* 111.

[7] *Fragm.* xv. *ἡ δὲ διαφορὰ ἐν προσώποις, οὐκ ἐν τῇ οὐσίᾳ· τὸ γὰρ 'πατήρ,' 'υἱός,' καὶ 'πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον' τρόπου ὑπάρξεως ἤγουν σχέσεως ὀνόματα, ἀλλ' οὐκ οὐσίας ἁπλῶς.*

Part II. iv.

Gregory of Nazianzus, and the acuteness of Gregory of Nyssa; but the essential features of the Cappadocian theology are present, and in a form which gives promise of their ultimate acceptance by the orthodox East.

V.

ANTIOCHENES AND ALEXANDRIANS.

A CREED attributed to Lucian[1], the first great teacher of the school of Antioch, has been quoted already in connexion with the Council of 341[2]. Whether it was the work of Lucian or, if his, has come down to us as he wrote it, is of little consequence[3]; in any case it is important chiefly for the fact that it supplied the Arians at Antioch with a form of belief which they were ready to endorse. Like Paul of Antioch, Lucian came from Samosata; he had served under Paul as a presbyter, and for a considerable time after Paul's deposition he was regarded as tarred with the brush of his Bishop's heresy. Arius boasted that Eusebius of Nicomedia and himself had been fellow pupils of Lucian[4]. On the whole it is probable that Lucian, though "no heretic[5]," would have hung back from the Nicene

[1] See Soz. *H. E.* iii. 5, vi. 12.

[2] Above, p. 166 f.

[3] Cf. Kattenbusch, *Das Apostol. Symbol*, i. p. 266 ff.

[4] συλλουκιανισταί (Theodoret, *H. E.* i. 4).

[5] Gwatkin, *Studies of Arianism*, p. 18. Newman, on the other hand (*Arians of the Fourth Century*, p. 6 f.), was disposed to regard him as "almost the author of Arianism."

Part II. v.

decision, and still more from an extension of the *homoousion* to the third Person of the Trinity.

But however this may be, the great Antiochene theologians of the second half of the fourth century[1] were pronounced adherents of the Nicene faith.

Diodore of Tarsus.

Diodore, Bishop of Tarsus (378—394), who may be called the second founder of the School, was an early friend of Basil, one of whose letters[2] is addressed to him; and at Antioch, before his elevation to the Episcopate, Diodore had been, in company with Flavian, the uncompromising foe of Arianism. His

Theodore of Mopsuestia.

more famous pupil, Theodore, who became Bishop of Mopsuestia (392—428), and was after his death regarded as the true founder of the Nestorian heresy, inherited Diodore's strongly anti-Arian position, and is certainly not open to the charge of derogating from the honour due to the Holy Spirit. Thus he writes in his commentary on the Minor Prophets: "There is a proper Person of the Father, a proper Person of the Son, and a proper Person of the Holy Spirit, each alike belonging to the Divine essence[3]." And again, elsewhere: "We worship Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, holding that the Divine, eternal, and uncreated Trinity finds its full complement in three Persons. Recognizing the Holy Spirit as of

[1] On these see Kihn, *Theodor v. Mopsuestia*, p. 17 ff., and on their doctrine, J. H. Srawley, *Antiochene Theology*, in Hastings' *Encyclop. of Religion and Ethics*, i. p. 584 ff.

[2] *Ep.* 135, assigned by the Benedictine editors to the year 373.

[3] Comm. on Haggai (Migne, *P. G.* lxvi. 486).

the same essence as the Father and the Son, we adore Him, because of His essential Godhead[1]." It does not make against Theodore's orthodoxy on this point that, with the characteristic frankness of the Antiochene exegesis, he confesses that the doctrine of the Spirit as a Person in God has no place in the Old Testament. "The men of the Old Testament knew nothing of the Holy Spirit as a hypostasis existing in His own Person with God (*παρὰ τὸν θεόν*). This was first taught by the Lord Christ, when He sent the Apostles to baptize in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; the Old Testament shews no knowledge of a distinct person or hypostasis of the Spirit[2]; it gave the name 'Holy Spirit' or 'Spirit of God' to the grace of the Spirit, or to the Divine oversight, care, or interest, or something of this kind[3]."

Of the relation of the Third Person to the First Theodore speaks with full conviction. The Spirit derives His subsistence from the very essence of the Father; for had the Lord meant by His proceeding from the Father not a natural process of going forth from the source, but a mission from without, it would have been hard to say of whom He spoke; there are many spirits sent to minister[4]. "We believe" (so runs

[1] *Ap.* Facund. iii. 5 (*ad Artemium*).

[2] Comm. on Haggai, *l.c.* *ἐν ἰδίῳ προσώπῳ καὶ ὑποστάσει ἰδίᾳ κεχωρισμένως τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ἠπίστατο.* Cf. comm. on Joel ii. (*ib.* 239).

[3] Theodore finds examples in Ps. cxxxix. 7 f., cxliii. 10, li. 11; Haggai ii. 5.

[4] Comm. on John xv. 26 (Migne, 780).

Part II. v.

Theodore's creed)[1] in the Holy Spirit as being from the essence of God, not a Son, yet God in essence, inasmuch as He is of that essence of which God the Father is, from whom in the way of essence He is derived[1]." The words are singularly destitute of grace, but at least they leave no doubt as to the writer's belief; the procession of the Spirit from the Father relates not to His mission but to His origin, and represents Him as deriving His origin from the essential life of God, making Him to be of one substance with the Father. So far Theodore is entirely at one with the Cappadocians, but he parts company from them when he deals with the relation of the Spirit to the Son. "We neither regard the Spirit as a son, nor as having received His subsistence through the Son[2]." Possibly it was this unwillingness to recognize the mediation of the Son in the essential life of the Holy Spirit which led him to reject the belief that the Holy Spirit was given to the Apostles by the Lord's insufflation on the night of the first Easter day[3].

Theodore's teaching on the work of the Spirit is largely original, and characteristically Antiochene. The activities of the Holy Spirit, he says, began long before the Incarnation. It was from the Spirit

[1] Hahn-Harnack, p. 302 ἐκ τῆς θεοῦ τυγχάνον οὐσίας, οὐχ υἱόν, θεὸν δὲ ὄντα τῇ οὐσίᾳ, ὡς ἐκείνης ὂν τῆς οὐσίας ἥσπερ ἐστιν ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατήρ, ἐξ οὗ κατ' οὐσίαν ἐστιν.

[2] *Ib.* οὔτε υἱὸν νομίζομεν, οὔτε διὰ υἱοῦ τὴν ὕπαρξιν εἰληφός.

[3] Comm. on John *ad loc.* (Migne, 784–5); contrast the remark of Apollinarius on John xvi. 15, καὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ τὸ πνεῦμα ὁρμᾶται.

that the Prophets received their inspiration and power to reveal things to come. Though they knew Him not as a Person in God, it was He who made them hear the Voice of God and feel God's hand upon them, and who turned their minds to the contemplation of the things that were revealed[1]. Often, indeed, the full meaning of their words was hidden from them, to be disclosed only by the progress of history. When Joel wrote, "I will pour my spirit upon all flesh," he meant no more than that the providential care of God should be extended to the whole world. Yet St Peter, when the fulness of the time came, could see that the Prophet's words were fulfilled by the coming of the Paraclete, which converted Joel's hyperbole into sober fact[2].

But if the Spirit "spake by the Prophets," the Advent opened out a new field of spiritual energy. With the whole of the ancient Church Theodore believed in the miracle of the Conception, but he put a new complexion upon it by refusing to believe that the Person of the Word was conceived or born. "There was born of a woman, not God the Word, but the man who was formed in her by the power of the Holy Spirit." "It was not the Person who is co-essential with the Father that was born, but he who in the last times was formed in his mother's womb by the power of the Spirit[3]." "God the Word took man (ἄνθρωπον εἴληφε) in the perfection

[1] Comm. on Nahum i. (Migne, 404).
[2] Comm. on Joel ii. (Migne, 229 f.).
[3] *C. Apollin.* (Migne, 993 ff.).

Part II. v.

of his nature, of a reasonable soul and human flesh consisting (ἐκ ψυχῆς τε νοερᾶς καὶ σαρκὸς συνεστῶτα ἀνθρωπίνης)[1]; who being man by nature as we are, and formed by the Holy Spirit in the Virgin's womb, was ineffably united by the Word with Himself[2]." The Conception by the Spirit was in due course followed by the Baptism of the Spirit. "The man who was thus assumed by the Word...received in himself the grace of the Spirit in its entirety, while to other men he gave a portion of that which was his in its fulness[3]." "It was this man..., and not the Divine Word, that needed the Spirit to justify him, to enable him to overcome Satan and work miracles, to teach him what he should do; and for all these purposes he received the indwelling of the Spirit at his baptism[4]." "It was the man that obeyed the law of human nature by dying, but forasmuch as he had become sinless through the power of the Holy Spirit, he was raised from the dead and called to the better life[5]."

In this work of the Holy Spirit on the man assumed by the Word Theodore sees the promise of His work on mankind at large. "All the events connected with the life of Christ were the firstfruits of our salvation. The Word of God received the

[1] Cf. *Quicumque vult*, 32 ex anima rationabili et humana carne subsistens.

[2] Hahn-Harnack, p. 302 f.

[3] *De incarnatione* (Migne, 980).

[4] Comm. on 1 Tim. iii. 16. Cf. *contra Apollin.* (Migne, 996).

[5] Migne, 1015.

indwelling of the Holy Spirit for the perfecting of His manhood in all good things, because in our case also it is by partaking of the Spirit that all good things find their origin, whether in the present world or in that which is to come[1]." "We are united to Christ and made symbolically to partake in His risen life by the spiritual regeneration of Baptism, wherein we receive His quickening Spirit[2]." "It is the Spirit who is the source of the immortal life which awaits us hereafter as well as of our spiritual life here[3]." Of the future life as closely connected with the baptismal gift and present indwelling of the Spirit, Theodore speaks frequently and with great emphasis. "We see ourselves as it were translated by our faith into the life to come. The Spirit is the firstfruits of things to come...there is no blessing to be compared with the gift of the Spirit, for thereby we are to attain to the Resurrection, to become and remain immortal, and to possess that immunity from change for which we look[4]." "In that risen life men can sin no more, by reason of the grace of the Spirit which will ever abide in them[5]." "The Spirit, as we receive Him now, is but the earnest of our inheritance—a small instalment of that full endowment which is promised in the future[6]." But

[1] Comm. on 1 Tim. iii. 16.
[2] Comm. on Rom. xiii. 14, Gal. ii. 13 f.
[3] Comm. on Rom. viii. 2.
[4] Comm. on Gal. ii. 15 f.
[5] Comm. on Gal. iii. 3, iv. 24.
[6] Comm. on Eph. i. 13 f.

Part II. v.

Theodore recognizes that while Baptism is the Sacrament and the normal means of regeneration, the gift of the Spirit is not so tied to the rite but that it may be forfeited by the unworthy, and even in certain cases conferred without the outward visible sign. "Baptism profited Simon Magus nothing, because his purpose in seeking it was bad; and, on the other hand, the want of Baptism did not hinder the robber who repented from entering the abodes of Paradise, seeing that his will was good[1]." He insists on the necessity of the regenerate acting consistently with their belief, and living a risen life[2]. Of the miraculous gifts of the Spirit as still possessed by the Church Theodore speaks with less confidence. "Without a doubt they accompanied the effusion of the Spirit in the Apostolic age, but they have ceased long ago to find a place among us; for if you choose to say that they have not ceased because there are persons who can work wonders by the power of prayer (though this seldom happens), I answer that in that sense miracles will never cease, since the saints can never wholly fail us[3]." But in his realization of the Spirit's work in the present and future life of all true members of Christ, this great interpreter of St Paul was second to none of the teachers of the post-Nicene Church.

John Chrysostom.

Another pupil of Diodore, a greater man than Theodore, but a less bold or original thinker,

[1] Comm. on 1 Tim. iii. 2.

[2] Comm. on Rom. vi. 17.

[3] Comm. on 1 Thess. v. 19 f., 2 Thess. ii. 6.

John Chrysostom, calls for but a brief notice here. Chrysostom was neither a keen controversialist nor a constructive theologian; his interests were those of the preacher and the pastor, and his exegesis, full as it is of beauty both of thought and of language, contributes little to the history of doctrine[1]. His attitude towards the doctrine of the Holy Spirit may be shewn by a few specimens of his teaching. "How shall we explain the spiritual birth which takes place in Baptism? Angels are present, but merely as witnesses, taking no part in the process; all is the work of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit...It is for us who have been permitted to partake of mysteries so great to make our lives worthy of the gift we have received[2]." "The Spirit is called *living water*, because He is ever at work; no fountain gushes forth more freely, never ceasing, never running dry or stopping in its course. The Lord speaks of *rivers*, not of 'a river,' to shew the unspeakable variety of the Spirit's operations[3]." "*Another Paraclete*, that is, another such as I am. Thus two opposite heresies are demolished by one blow; '*another*' shews the difference of Person, '*Paraclete*,' the affinity of Essence[4]." "The feast of Pentecost marked the season when it was time to put the sickle to the corn and gather in the fruits of the earth. So, when the spiritual harvest was ready, the sickle of the

[1] On the doctrine of Chrysostom much may be found in Bp Chase's early *Study* (Camb. 1887).

[2] *In Jo.* iii. (Migne, *P. G.* lix. 150).

[3] *In Jo.* vii. (Migne, 284).

[4] *In Jo.* xiv. (Migne, 405).

Part II. v.

Spirit, already sharpened, was quickly at work... The Spirit came at a time when the disciples were continuing in prayer and living in love[1]." "*If Christ is in you...if the Spirit...dwelleth in you*[2]. The Apostle does not mean that Christ is the Spirit, but that where the Spirit is, Christ must needs be. Where one Person of the Trinity is, there is the whole Trinity, for the Godhead is indivisible, and absolutely one (ἥνωται μετ' ἀκριβείας ἁπάσης)[3]." "We are as far wiser than the heathen philosophers as the Holy Spirit is wiser than Plato; the superiority of our Teacher is the measure of our superiority[4]." "To enter a private house and behave ill in it, is to court heavy penalties. Bear this in mind, and respect the Person who dwells in your body; it is the Paraclete[5]."

Nestorius.

A quarter of a century after Chrysostom's deposition another Antiochene was raised to the see of Constantinople. Nestorius had been a disciple of Theodore, and had inherited Theodore's strong dislike both of Arian and of Apollinarian doctrine. When a year or two after his elevation he himself fell under the charge of heresy, it was remembered against him that his episcopate began with a fierce and intolerant attack upon the heretics and schismatics of his diocese[6]. No one could impute anti-trinitarian

[1] *In Act.* i. (Migne, lx. 41, 43).
[2] Rom. viii. 10 f.
[3] *In Rom.* viii. (Migne, 519).
[4] *In* 1 *Cor.* i. (Migne, lxi. 59).
[5] *In* 1 *Cor.* vi. (Migne, 147).
[6] The Macedonians, in particular, suffered much at his hands; see Socr. *H. E.* vii. 31.

heresy to Nestorius; "the Godhead," he writes, "is one, but the Persons are three; for the Father is God and the Son is God and the Holy Spirit is God[1]." Nor did he depart from the Catholic belief that the Spirit was operative at the Conception and the Baptism of our Lord. Here, however, like Theodore, he expressed himself in such a manner that he was understood to divide the One Christ into two persons. "The Spirit," he taught, "formed in the Virgin's womb the man who was assumed by the Word, and afterwards came down upon him at the Baptism, and glorified him, giving him the power to work miracles. It was the Spirit, moreover, that made him terrible to unclean spirits; that made his flesh a temple; that gave him power to ascend to heaven[2]." This was held to mean that the Incarnate Son received the Spirit from without, and was glorified by Him as by a superior power; while the anti-Nestorian party maintained that the Spirit was His very own and that His miracles were wrought without effort by His own Divine power[3]. This question of the relation which the Holy Spirit bore to the Incarnate Word was brought to a point in

[1] The words belong to his newly recovered Apology (Bethune-Baker, *Nestorius and his Teaching*, p. 167).

[2] *Ap.* Cyrill. Alex. *adv. Nest.* iv. (Migne, lxxvi. 169, 176, 181) *τὴν τοῦ ἀναληφθέντος τὸ πνεῦμα κατελθὸν συνεκρότησε δόξαν...διέπλασεν ἐν παρθένῳ τὸ πνεῦμα...σημείοις ἐσέμνυνε.* Cf. Jo. Cassian. *c. Nest.* vii. 17—22 (Migne, *P. L.* l. 239 ff.): Mar. Mercat. *Nest. serm.* iii. (Migne, *P. L.* xlviii. 767 ff.).

[3] *ὁ δὲ ὡς θεὸς ἐνεργεῖ καὶ ὡς δι' ἰδίου πνεύματος ἀμογητὶ κατορθοῖ τὰ δι' ὧν θαυμάζεται.*

Part II. v.

Cyril of Alexandria.

the famous synodical letter addressed to Nestorius in the autumn of 430 by Cyril of Alexandria and the Egyptian Bishops. "When our Lord says of the Spirit, 'He shall glorify me,' we must not think of Him as needing glory which comes from another ...for though the Spirit exists in His own proper person, and as such can be a separate object of thought, inasmuch as He is Spirit and not Son, yet He is not alien from the Son. He is called the Spirit of the Truth, and Christ is the Truth; and He is poured out from the Son as He is also from God the Father[1]." This letter is followed by a series of twelve 'anathematisms,' of which the ninth deals with the question of the relation of the Holy Spirit to the Incarnate Lord. "If any man says that the one Lord Jesus Christ has received glory from the Spirit, as if the power which He exerted and which came through the Spirit were an alien one, and that He obtained from the Spirit ability to work against unclean spirits and to accomplish His other miracles to men-ward, and not rather that the Spirit by which He wrought the miracles was His very own, let him be anathema[2]." Nestorius replied by a counter-anathema: "If any man says that the form of a

[1] προχεῖται παρ' αὐτοῦ, καθάπερ ἀμέλει καὶ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρός (Migne, *P. G.* lxxvii. 117).

[2] εἴ τις φησι τὸν ἕνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν δεδοξάσθαι παρὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ὡς ἀλλοτρίᾳ δυνάμει τῇ δι' αὐτοῦ χρώμενον, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβόντα τὸ ἐνεργεῖν δύνασθαι κατὰ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων καὶ τὸ πληροῦν εἰς ἀνθρώπους τὰς θεοσημείας, καὶ οὐχὶ δὴ μᾶλλον ἴδιον αὐτοῦ τὸ πνεῦμά φησι, δι' οὗ καὶ ἐνήργηκε τὰς θεοσημείας, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω (Migne, *P. G.* lxxvii. 121).

servant [which the Son took] is consubstantial with the Holy Spirit, and not rather that it was by the Spirit's mediation that from the moment of his conception he had that union with God the Word by which he wrought among men those works of healing which were at once common and full of wonder, and from which he derived power to cast out evil spirits, let him be anathema[1]." But the challenge was more effectually taken up by another and greater representative of the School of Antioch, Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrrhus (423—458); and the controversy which followed brings to light an important difference between Antiochene and Alexandrian pneumatology which has already more than once partly revealed itself in the course of this enquiry. Part II. v. Theodoret.

Theodoret begins his reply by saying that Cyril's ninth anathematism is really launched against the Evangelists and Apostles, and even against our Lord Himself, who attributes His preaching and His works to the power of the Spirit (e.g., Luke iv. 18 ff., Matt. xii. 28). "We for our part (he continues) refuse to say that the Divine Word, who is consubstantial and co-eternal with the Father, was formed in the womb and anointed at the Baptism by the Holy Spirit; we ascribe these things to the human nature which was taken by the Word. That the Spirit is the Son's very own, of the same nature with Him and proceeding from the Father, we admit and accept as religious truth; but if Cyril means

[1] Mar. Mercat. *ap.* Migne, *P. L.* xlviii. 918 f.

Part II. v.

that the Spirit has His subsistence from or through the Son, we reject this as blasphemous and impious[1]. We believe that, as the Lord says, the Spirit proceeds from the Father, and with St Paul we acknowledge Him to be the Spirit which is from God." In Cyril's rejoinder the Alexandrian patriarch defends himself against the imputation that he had rejected the authority of Scripture. His purpose had been to exclude a doctrine which would represent the Incarnate Son as working the miracles by a power which was not His own, and which was superior to Himself[2]. In Cyril's judgement Theodoret's statement practically assumed two Christs, a human and a divine, and it was at this error that the anathemas were aimed.

The further question which Theodoret had raised, whether the Son is to be regarded as in any sense, mediately or immediately, a source of the Spirit's being, is but lightly touched in Cyril's reply. He is content to write: "The Spirit was and is the Son's as He was and is the Father's; for though He proceeds from the Father, yet He is not alien from the Son; for the Son has all things in common with the Father, as the Lord has Himself taught us[3]." This is guarded language, at which no Antiochene could cavil. Yet in other writings Cyril uses words

[1] Migne, lxxvi. 432 *εἰ δὲ ὡς ἐξ υἱοῦ ἢ δι' υἱοῦ τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἔχον, ὡς βλάσφημον τοῦτο καὶ ὡς δυσσεβὲς ἀπορρίψομεν.*

[2] On the construction placed by Cyril on the Antiochene position see Bethune-Baker, *op. cit.* 82 ff.

[3] Migne, lxxvi. 433.

that hardly differ from the doctrine which by this time was taking shape in the West. A few extracts may serve to justify this remark. "Inasmuch (Cyril writes) as the Son is God and is by nature from God (for He has been truly generated from God the Father), the Spirit is His own, and is both in Him and from Him[1]." "The Spirit is Christ's Spirit, as going forth through the Ineffable Nature and of one substance with Him[2]." "The Spirit has by nature His subsistence from Him, and being sent from Him upon the creature, works its renovation[3]." "He is the Spirit both of the Father and of the Son, seeing that He is poured forth in the way of essence from Both, or in other words, from the Father through the Son[4]." It is evident that Cyril would have been ready to accept the formula *ex utroque*, provided that it was explained to mean *ex patre per filium*.

To Theodoret, on the other hand, the derivation of the Holy Spirit either from or through the Son seemed to come perilously near to heresy. "We have been taught," he says, "that the Holy Spirit has His subsistence from the Father—that the

[1] *In Joel.* ii. 28 (ed. P. Pusey, i. 337 f.) ἢ μὲν γάρ ἐστι θεὸς καὶ ἐκ θεοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ὁ υἱός, γεγέννηται γὰρ ἀληθῶς ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρός, ἴδιον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τε καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστι.

[2] *Adv. Nest.* iv. 2 (Migne, *P. G.* lxxvi. 176 ff.) ὡς δι' αὐτῆς προϊὸν τῆς ἀπορρήτου φύσεως καὶ ὁμοούσιον αὐτῷ.

[3] *Thesaur.* (Migne, *P. G.* lxxv. 608) ἐξ αὐτοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ὑπάρχον καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κτίσιν παρ' αὐτοῦ πεμπόμενον τὴν ἀνακαινισμὸν ἐργάζεται.

[4] *De ador.* i. (Migne, *P. G.* lxviii. 147) τὸ οὐσιωδῶς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν, ἤγουν ἐκ πατρὸς δι' υἱοῦ, προχεόμενον.

Part II. v.

Father is the Source of the Spirit. He is called the Spirit of Christ, as being consubstantial with the Father and the Son; not because, as the heretics affirm, He was made by the Son, whereas the Gospel teaches that He proceeds from the Father[1]." From the Antiochene point of view any dependence of the Third Person on the Second seemed to conflict with the prerogative of the Father as the sole Source of the Divine life, and to open the door for a return to the position of Macedonius or of Origen.

It is satisfactory to observe that while Cyril and Theodoret differed widely on this question, they were at one in the place which they assigned to the Holy Spirit in the life of the Church.

By the teaching of the Spirit, Cyril writes, "we have been enriched with the unfading hope of immortality, the proud title of sons of God, grace here, and the reign with Christ hereafter[2]." "By His Spirit God fills man's nature with gladness, and crowns it with its original glory, in His love of goodness bringing it back to the condition in which it was before sin entered[3]." "Made partakers of the Holy Spirit, we are being restored (*ἀναστοιχειούμεθα*) to the primitive beauty of our nature; the image which we bore at the first is engraved afresh upon our spiritual life, for the Christ is formed in us through the Spirit[4]." "The Christ in us has

[1] *Haer. fab.* v. 3 (Migne, *P. G.* lxxxiii. 453 ff.). Cf. *in Rom.* viii. 9 (Migne, *P. G.* xxxii. 132).

[2] *In Os.* ii. 15.

[3] *In Joel.* ii. 28 sq.

[4] *In Nah.* ii. 2 sqq.

taken up His abode in our hearts through the Spirit and brought us spiritual gladness; for what can partaking in the Holy Spirit be but delight and joy and gladness of every kind[1]?" "To those who labour in the building of the Church the Lord gives strength and courage, for He will be with them through the Holy Spirit and will do for them all that can make their own life bright and of good repute. To His disciples who were to build the Church He said, *Lo, I am with you always*; so is He now with the men who build His house[2]." "After the resurrection the Divine Spirit will be in us not in instalments or by measure, but richly and abundantly, and we shall perfectly revel (ἐντρυφήσομεν) in the gifts that are ours through Christ[3]." "In the world to come when the eye of the mind is filled with the knowledge of God, and the rich gifts of the Spirit have come to their perfection, we shall serve God with all our powers, and with no sin-divided allegiance, undisturbed by the passions that formerly molested us, and sharing with the holy angels for ever the life which is free from sin and sorrow[4]." This is a different Cyril from the heresy-hunter and dogmatist who appears under that name in the pages of Church History; yet any portrait of the man which fails to take account of side-lights such as these passages throw upon his inner life is clearly inadequate and unjust.

Strange to say Theodoret, "great and holy

[1] *In Soph.* iii. 16 sqq.
[2] *In Agg.* ii. 4, 6.
[3] *In Zach.* xiv. 8 sq.
[4] *In Malach.* iv. 2, 3.

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bishop" as he was, and rewarded by the Church with the title of 'Blessed' if not with that of 'Saint[1],' scarcely attains to the richness or the fervour of Cyril's pneumatology. Yet he is not less conscious than Cyril that the spiritual life of Christians depends upon the grace of the Spirit. "*In thy light shall we see light.* It is as we are enlightened by the Spirit (he comments) that we see the rays of light which stream from Thine Only-begotten; for 'no man can call Jesus Lord but by the Holy Spirit,' and 'God hath revealed them unto us by His Spirit[2].'" "'I will cause you to walk in my ordinances and to keep my judgements and do them.' This is work which properly belongs to the grace of the Spirit, for His grace cooperating with our free-will prepares us to accomplish what is here said[3]." "Even to this day the fountain of the Holy Spirit gushes forth in the churches of God, distributing to men the gifts of His grace. His bountiful grace is not exhausted, but issues from its source, and supplies the greatest of gifts not only to those who are worthy of them, but to others who fall far short of perfection. As the same sun that shone upon the ancients shines on us of a later age, and enlightens every land and sea; so, and in much greater measure, its Maker enlightens the minds of those who desire to look up to Him for guidance[4]."

[1] J. H. Newman, *Historical Sketches*, p. 307 f.

[2] *In Ps.* xxxv. (xxxvi.) 10.

[3] *In Ezech.* xxxvi. 27.

[4] *Prooem. in xii. proph.* (ad fin.).

The fourth and fifth centuries were throughout the Greek East a time of strenuous controversy, and no subject was more keenly debated than the Person of the Holy Spirit, and His relation to the Father and the Son. In the conduct of these discussions there is much which distresses the reader, and must have been yet more deeply painful to the good men to whom it fell in that age to fight the battles of the faith. But it is satisfactory to know that in those troubled years Eastern Christendom was not divided upon any great question connected with the office and work of the Paraclete. Arians who refused to call Him God, with a happy absence of logic recognized His function of sanctifying all the elect people of God. Catholics who differed among themselves on the subject of the Procession of the Spirit, were in full agreement as to His presence in the Church and His gracious workings in the Sacraments and on individual souls. A common experience accounts for this harmony, witnessing to the vital unity which in all sincere believers underlies even serious differences of thought or creed.

VI.

THE EASTERN CHURCH FROM THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON TO JOHN OF DAMASCUS.

Part II. vi.

Council of Chalcedon (451)

On October 22, A.D. 451, at a session[1] in which the great Sees of Rome, Constantinople, Antioch, and Jerusalem were represented, the Council of Chalcedon confirmed the ruling of the Councils of Nicaea and Constantinople in matters of faith. The Chalcedonian fathers were careful to say, as Catholic writers of the fourth century had said, that the Nicene Creed contained a sufficient and complete statement of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity[2]; the added clauses of the 'Constantinopolitan' Creed[3] were not to be regarded as supplying a defect in the earlier creed[4], but as giving a more explicit account of the Nicene doctrine of the Spirit's essence (*οὐσίας*), as against those who attempted to overthrow His sovereignty (*δεσποτείαν*). On this understanding the fourth Council endorsed both creeds, embodying them in its own 'definition.'

[1] The fifth: see Hefele, *Councils*, E.T. iii. p. 342 ff.; Bright, *Age of the Fathers*, ii. p. 528 ff.

[2] *ἤρκει μὲν οὖν εἰς ἐντελῆ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐπίγνωσιν...περὶ...γὰρ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐκδιδάσκει τὸ τέλειον* (Bright, *Canons*, p. xxxiv.).

[3] On this creed see p. 186 f.

[4] *οὐχ ὥς τι λεῖπον τοῖς προλαβοῦσιν ἐπάγοντες.*

After this second decisive judgement no more was heard in the East of Macedonianism or of Eunomianism; both had in fact collapsed seventy years before, upon the withdrawal of Imperial support. Greek ecclesiastical writers continued to reaffirm the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, but on lines which had now become conventional; and little was done in the way of a fresh examination of the scriptural evidence, or of any endeavour to submit the established forms of belief to the thought and experience of the living Church. In regard to the doctrine of the Holy Spirit it seemed to suffice that His Godhead and association with the Father and the Son in acts of worship had been finally established. Even on the question of His derivation there was a disposition to be content with the statement of the Constantinopolitan Creed that He proceeds from the Father, or to qualify it only by affirming His essential oneness with the Son; of the phrases 'through the Son' and 'from the Son' we hear little for two centuries and a half after the Chalcedonian settlement.

A few specimens may be given of the cautious reserve with which the subject of the Procession is treated by Greek theologians of this period.

Gelasius of Cyzicus.

Towards the end of the fifth century Gelasius of Cyzicus attempted a history of the Council of Nicaea, which, however small its claims to historical merit, may be taken to represent the orthodoxy of the writer's own time. "The Holy Spirit," he writes, "is of the same Godhead and essence as the

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Father and the Son, and is ever inseparable from the Father and the Son, as the Son is from the Father, and the Father from the Son[1]." "The Son proceeds from the true fountain of life, the Godhead of the Father...and from Him we all receive the Holy Spirit, who is of the same essence as the Father and the Son, proceeding from the Father, and belonging to the Son as His own[2]. The Son is light from the Father's light, and the Holy Ghost also is light from the light itself[3]." About the same time there came, probably from the monasteries of Egypt or Syria, the extraordinary blend of Catholic Christianity with the later Neoplatonism which passes under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite[4]. We turn with keen anticipation to the Pseudo-Areopagite's books which bear the title, *On Divine Names*. But we are disappointed; they offer little more than normal Greek doctrine of the Holy Spirit's person, enveloped in a cloud of mystical language. "There are some names," we read, "which are common to the Godhead,...and others which imply distinctions (διακεκριμένα), as Father, Son, and Spirit...The Father is the only Source of the superessential Godhead; the Father is not the Son, nor is the Son the Father...The Father is the

'Dionysius the Areopagite.'

[1] Migne, *P. G.* lxxxv. 1286 ff. [2] See p. 266 f.

[3] ἐκπορευόμενον μὲν ἐκ τοῦ πατρός, ἴδιον δὲ ὂν τοῦ υἱοῦ...φῶς καὶ ὁ υἱὸς ἐκ φωτὸς τοῦ πατρός, φῶς καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ φωτός (Migne, *P. G.* lxxxv. 1296 f.).

[4] On Dionysius and this work in particular see Bp Westcott, *Religious Thought in the West*, p. 175 ff., and the less favourable judgement of Dean Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, p. 104 ff.

Source-Deity, whereas Jesus and the Spirit are, if one may so speak, Divine growths from the Divine parent-stock, and as it were the flowers and lights of an Essence beyond all essence. This we have learnt from the sacred oracles[1]; but how these things are, no man can say or conceive." Here, it will be seen, no attempt is made to examine the relation of the Spirit to the Son; in the loose language of this mystical writer even the distinction between generation and procession, which the Church had drawn from the New Testament, appears to be overlooked. The Areopagite, however, is *sui generis*, and can scarcely be said to break the thread of an established tradition.

In the sixth century the typical Eastern doctrine is thus set forth by Leontius of Byzantium: "These three Persons differ from one another in nothing save only in their 'properties.'...The Son and the Spirit differ only herein that the Son is generated from the Father, and the Spirit proceeds from Him. How the one is generated and the other proceeds we are not concerned to know[2]." On the other hand, in

Leontius of Byzantium.

[1] *μόνη δὲ πηγὴ τῆς ὑπερουσίου θεότητος ὁ πατήρ, οὐκ ὄντος υἱοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδὲ πατρὸς τοῦ υἱοῦ...ὅτι μέν ἐστι πηγαία θεότης ὁ πατήρ· ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς θεογόνου θεότητος, εἰ οὕτως χρὴ φάναι, βλαστοὶ θεόφυτοι, καὶ οἷον ἄνθη καὶ ὑπερούσια φῶτα πρὸς τῶν ἱερῶν λογίων παρειλήφαμεν* (Migne, *P. G.* iii. 641–5).

[2] *De sectis* i. (Migne, *P. G.* lxxxvi. 1196): *ταῦτα τὰ τρία οὐδὲν ἀλλήλων διαφέρουσιν εἰ μὴ μόνον κατὰ τὰ ἰδιώματα...τοῦτο μόνον διαφέρουσιν ὅτι ὁ μὲν υἱὸς γεννᾶται ἐκ τοῦ πατρός, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ἐκπορεύεται ἐξ αὐτοῦ· πῶς δὲ γεννᾶται ὁ υἱὸς ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἢ πῶς ἐκπορεύεται τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον οὐ δεῖ περιεργάζεσθαι.*

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Anastasius of Antioch.

the second half of the century Anastasius, patriarch of Antioch, in a sermon on the Holy Trinity, enters into the subject of the Procession with something of the keenness of the great Greek theologians who flourished two centuries earlier. "Although (he preaches) both the Son and the Holy Spirit are said to go forth from the Father, the term 'procession' is usually reserved for the Holy Spirit, as 'generation' is for the Son. The Spirit proceeds from the Father, but He receives from the Son all things that are the Son's, who has all things that are the Father's; shewing clearly that the essence of Him who receives, of Him from whom He receives, and of Him from whom, in the way of nature, He proceeds, is one and the same." "It belongs to the Father alone to be Father, because He is the only Source; to the Son to be Son, since He is the Only-begotten; and to the Paraclete to be the Holy Spirit, for He has a procession from the Father which is all His own[1]." Another Anastasius, a monk of Sinai, writing in the seventh century, returns to the more reserved tone which was usual in his age: "there are three hypostatical properties (ἰδιότητες) in the Godhead, the ingenerateness of the Father, the generateness of the Son, and the origin by procession (τὸ ἐκπορευτόν) of the Holy Spirit[2]."

Anastasius of Sinai.

Once at least in the seventh century, during the

[1] *Or.* I. 11, 13, 23 (Migne, *P. G.* lxxxix. 1315 sqq.). The sermon is given by Migne in a Latin version only.

[2] Anast. Sinait. *Hodegus* 2 (Migne, *P. G.* lxxxix. 60).

heat of the Monothelite controversy, there was a foretaste of the stir which the Latin doctrine of the Procession was destined to make in the Greek East at a later time. A letter of the year 655, addressed by Maximus Confessor[1] to the Cyprian presbyter Marinus, contains an interesting reference to the Western view. Maximus had visited Rome, and as a Dyothelite he desired to defend Martin, Bishop of Rome, against his Eastern antagonists. One of the charges laid against Martin at Constantinople was that he believed the Holy Spirit to proceed from the Son as well as from the Father (*κἀκ τοῦ υἱοῦ*). Maximus explains that the Westerns did not regard the Son as a cause (*αἰτίαν*) of the Spirit's being, but recognized that the Father is the One Source both of the Son and of the Spirit, so that the *Filioque* had no other meaning than the Greek phrase *δι' υἱοῦ*—"through the Son"—and was intended merely to emphasize the unity and unchangeableness of the Divine essence[2]. For himself Maximus regretted the new Latin phrase, which he saw to be dangerous to the peace of the Church, and preferred the Greek formula; but he interpreted the latter after the manner of the older Greek theologians: "the Holy Spirit (he writes elsewhere), as He is by nature and in the way of essence [the Spirit] of God the Father, so is He also the Son's by nature and in the way of essence, since He

Maximus Confessor.

[1] Maxim. *ad Marin.* (Migne, *P. G.* xci. 133 ff.).

[2] *Ib. ἵνα...ταύτῃ τὸ συναφὲς τῆς οὐσίας καὶ ἀπαράλλακτον παραστήσωσι.*

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proceeds from the Father essentially and ineffably through the Son[1], who is begotten."

Maximus died in 662. Eighteen years after his death the Sixth Oecumenical Council, in disposing of the Monothelite heresy, passed without notice the question of the procession of the Holy Spirit. No further contribution to the doctrine of the Spirit came from the Greek East before the next century, when John of Damascus wrote his famous summary of orthodox doctrine[2]. It has fallen to the lot of this writer, who was a redactor of antiquity rather than a father of the Church or a theologian of constructive power, to be regarded as the recognized exponent of Greek patristic theology during the first seven centuries; and it is only in this capacity that he has a claim to a place in the history of Christian doctrine. Even from this point of view his work is not altogether satisfactory, for in treating of Greek theology he limits himself to 'orthodox' theologians; the Antiochenes find no place in his review, while the Cappadocians and the Alexandrians are well represented. His merit lies in the mediating position which he occupies in reference to the several schools of Greek orthodoxy, and his fairly successful endeavour to reduce the

John of Damascus.

[1] *Quaest. ad Thalass.* 63 (Migne, *P. G.* xc. 672): ὥσπερ φύσει κατ᾽ οὐσίαν ὑπάρχει τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρός, οὕτως καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ φύσει κατ᾽ οὐσίαν ἐστίν, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐσιωδῶς δι᾽ υἱοῦ γεννηθέντος ἀφράστως ἐκπορευόμενον.

[2] ἔκθεσις ἀκριβὴς τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως (Migne, *P. G.* xciv. 789—1228).

scattered statements of the Greek fathers and councils to a system of theology in which they appear as a consistent whole. John of Damascus has been called "the St Thomas of the Eastern Church," and the comparison is true at least in regard to the quasi-symbolical authority with which the writings of the two men have been invested in East and West respectively.

The following extracts will illustrate the attitude of John of Damascus towards the doctrine of the Holy Spirit.

"We believe in one God...one Essence, one Godhead, one Power, Will, Operation, Origin, Authority, Lordship, Sovereignty—known and worshipped with one worship in three perfect hypostases ... which are united without confusion and distinct without separation (*ἀσυγχύτως ἡνωμέναις καὶ ἀδιαστάτως διαιρουμέναις*[1])." "We believe in one Holy Spirit, the Lord and Giver of life, who proceeds from the Father and rests (*ἀναπανόμενον*) in the Son, who together with the Father and the Son is worshipped and glorified, as being both co-essential with them and co-eternal (*ὁμοούσιόν τε καὶ συναΐδιον*); the Spirit which is from God...who with the Father and the Son is and is called God (*θεὸν...ὑπάρχον καὶ προσαγορευόμενον*)...in all things like to the Father and the Son, proceeding from the Father, dispensed (*μεταδιδόμενον*) through the Son and partaken of by every creature...hypostatic (*ἐνυπόστατον*), existing in a hypostasis which is His own, yet inseparable

[1] *De fide orthodoxa*, i. 8 (Migne, 808).

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and irremovable (*ἀνεκφοίτητον*) from Father and Son, having all things that the Father and the Son have, except ingenerateness and generateness... The Holy Spirit is from the Father, not by generation, but by procession (*οὐ γεννητῶς ἀλλ' ἐκπορευτῶς*); that there is a difference between the two we have been taught, but wherein they differ we know not. The generation of the Son and the procession of the Spirit are simultaneous. All that the Son has and that the Spirit has, each has from the Father, even His very being: in their hypostatical properties alone the three holy Persons differ—not in essence, but in that which characterizes their several hypostases; this distinguishes them, yet so that it leaves them undivided[1]." "We speak of the Son as from (*ἐκ*) the Father, and the Son of the Father; and similarly, we say that the Holy Spirit is from the Father and we call Him the Spirit of the Father; we call Him also the Spirit of the Son, but we do not speak of Him as from (*ἐκ*) the Son[2]." Yet "the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son[3]"; He is "the Spirit of the Son, not as being from Him, but as proceeding through Him from the Father[4]." He is "God, intermediate between the Ingenerate and

[1] *ἐν ταύταις γὰρ μόναις ταῖς ὑποστατικαῖς ἰδιότησι διαφέρουσιν ἀλλήλων αἱ ἁγίαι τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις, οὐκ οὐσίᾳ τῷ δὲ χαρακτηριστικῷ τῆς ἰδίας ὑποστάσεως ἀδιακρίτως διαιρούμεναι* (Migne, 824).

[2] *Ib.* (Migne, 832).

[3] *Ib.* c. 12, *δύναμις τοῦ πατρός, ἐκ πατρὸς μὲν δι' υἱοῦ ἐκπορευομένη* (Migne, 849).

[4] *Ib., infra: υἱοῦ δὲ πνεῦμα οὐχ ὡς ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀλλ' ὡς δι' αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον· μόνος γὰρ αἴτιος ὁ πατήρ.*

the Begotten, and connected with the Father through the Son[1]."

Of the attributes and offices of the Holy Spirit we read: "He is called Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ, Mind of Christ, Spirit of the Lord, the Lord Himself (*αὐτοκύριος*), Spirit of adoption, of truth, of liberty, of wisdom." He "fills all things with His essence and holds all things together. He can fill the world with His essence, but the world cannot contain His power[2]." "He is creative, all-powerful, sovereign over all creation, sanctifying, deifying (*θεοῦν*) all[3]." "He is the shining of the light of God which gives us light (*ἡ ἔλλαμψις...ἡ φωτίζουσα ἡμᾶς*)[4]." He is the "Father's Power that reveals the hidden life of the Godhead[5]"; "He is the Image of the Son, as the Son is of the Father; through Him the Christ dwells in man, and gives him conformity to the image of God[6]."

It may be convenient to collect these results of ancient Greek pneumatology in a few brief sentences.

1. The Divine Essence is one and indivisible.

[1] *Ib.* c. 13 *θεὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, μέσον τοῦ ἀγεννήτου καὶ τοῦ γεννητοῦ, καὶ δι' υἱοῦ τῷ πατρὶ συναπτόμενον.*

[2] *Ib. πάντα τῇ οὐσίᾳ πληροῦν, πάντα συνέχον, πληρωτικὸν κόσμου κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν, ἀχώρητον κόσμῳ κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν.*

[3] c. 8 (Migne, 821).

[4] c. 8 (Migne, 833).

[5] c. 12 (Migne, 849): *ἐκφαντορικὴ τοῦ κρυφίου τῆς θεότητος δύναμις τοῦ πατρός.*

[6] c. 13 (Migne, 856): *εἰκὼν τοῦ πατρὸς ὁ υἱός, καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τὸ πνεῦμα, δι' οὗ ὁ χριστὸς ἐνοικῶν ἀνθρώπῳ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα.*

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But it is revealed to us and worshipped by the Church in three hypostases, which are distinguished by characteristic 'properties.' The Father is the only cause or source of Godhead; the Son and the Holy Spirit are from the Father, the Son by generation, the Spirit by procession.

2. The Spirit, then, proceeds from the Father alone, i.e., the Father is the sole source or cause of His existence. But He proceeds through the Son, and is the Spirit of Both.

3. There is some uncertainty in the use which John of Damascus makes of the phrase 'through the Son'; sometimes it seems to have reference to the eternal derivation of the Holy Spirit[1], while elsewhere the temporal mission alone appears to be in view[2]. This uncertainty, however, does not imply inconsistency, since the temporal mission may rightly be regarded as resting upon the basis of an eternal relation, and the preposition διά is applicable to both.

4. The eternal relation of the Spirit to the other persons of the Holy Trinity is expressed by the statement that the Spirit is the 'middle term,' or the bond of union, between the Father and the Son. From another point of view the Son is represented as the channel through which the Divine Life flows eternally from the Father to the Holy Spirit, and the union of the three hypostases is

[1] E.g., in the last sentence of *de fide orth.* i. 12.

[2] See, e.g., *Hom. in sabb.* 4 ὡς δι' αὐτοῦ φανερούμενον καὶ τῇ κτίσει μεταδιδόμενον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἔχον τὴν ὕπαρξιν.

mediated. No attempt is made to reconcile these two aspects of a transcendent mystery, which indeed can be apprehended by human thought and expressed by human language only in disjointed fragments of the perfect truth.

5. In regard to the relation of the Holy Spirit to the life of the world and of men John of Damascus fairly represents the wide outlook of the great Greek theologians. The cosmic work of the Spirit is recognized, as well as His work in the economy of human salvation; and in regard to the latter, justice is done to the profound view that saw in the Incarnation nothing less than a Divine scheme for the 'deifying' of human nature—the restoration of man to the image and likeness of God, which is mirrored in the Incarnate Son, and which the Spirit of the Son reproduces in the regenerate life of His Body, the universal Church.

On the whole the effort of John of Damascus to systematize Greek theology has deserved well of Christendom. If his work has tended to crystallize the religious thought of the Greek East, it has also tightened its grasp upon the heritage of vital truth which had been secured for it by the great teachers of the fourth and fifth centuries. It may be that when the time comes for the drawing together again of East and West, the writings of the Damascene will supply a starting point for the movement. An attempt to use them in this way was made by the Conference of Easterns, Anglicans,

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and Old Catholics which met at Bonn in 1875[1]; and the example of that Conference may well be followed by a more representative body in a future which, it may be hoped, is now not far remote.

Before we leave the Greek-speaking East some attempt must be made to estimate the place which was assigned to the Holy Spirit in the symbolical and liturgical forms of the post-Nicene Church of Greek-speaking lands[2].

Creeds.

The Arian creeds of the fourth century, while ignoring the question of the Holy Spirit's person, and His relation to the Father and the Son, lay stress on the title and work of the Paraclete. On the Catholic side there was evident reluctance to enter upon this field, so long as the Arians abstained from challenging the traditional faith which included the Holy Spirit in the Divine Trinity. At Nicaea, as Jerome points out[3], "the opinions of Arius were before the Council, not those of Origen; the doctrine of the Son was in dispute, not that of the Spirit." The Nicene fathers confessed the truth which was "denied by Arius, but held their peace as to that which at the time was not called in question." Their example was followed by the Church until the Arians broke the tacit compact; but the Catholic

[1] See *History of the Doctrine of the Procession*, App. (B) (p. 238 f.).

[2] For the ante-Nicene forms see p. 151 ff.

[3] *Ep. ad Pammach. et Ocean.* (Migne, *P. L.* xxii. 747) de Ario tunc, non de Origene quaestio fuit; de filio, non de Spiritu sancto. Confessi sunt quod negabatur, tacuerunt de quo nemo quaerebat.

doctrine of the Spirit's person is substantially taught in the shorter Epiphanian creed afterwards attributed to the fathers of Constantinople, and now known as the 'Nicene[1].' Yet even this Creed, in dealing with the Godhead of the Third Person, is singularly reserved, when we compare with it the words in which the Nicene Council confessed the Godhead of the Son. Other Creeds of the latter part of the fourth century and of the fifth are more definite. Thus the longer Epiphanian Creed[2] asserts that the Holy Spirit is 'increate' (ἄκτιστον); the Creed attributed by Caspari to Apollinarius runs, "We confess...one Holy Spirit, by nature and in truth capable of sanctifying and deifying all things, deriving subsistence from the essence of God; and those who call the...Holy Spirit a creature we anathematize[3]." The creed of Theodore of Mopsuestia, a strong anti-Apollinarian, is not less explicit: "the Holy Spirit is of the essence of God, not Son yet essentially God, as being of that essence of which God the Father is, from whom according to essence He is[4]." The Philadelphian Creed, recited at the Council of Ephesus (431), adds that the Spirit

[1] See pp. 186, 227.

[2] Hahn-Harnack, p. 136. Cf. Hort, *Two Dissertations*, pp. 116 ff., 147.

[3] Hahn-Harnack, p. 279 φύσει καὶ ἀληθείᾳ τῶν πάντων ἁγιαστικὸν καὶ θεοποιόν, ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπάρχον.

[4] Hahn-Harnack, p. 302 ἐκ τῆς θεοῦ τυγχάνον οὐσίας, οὐχ υἱόν, θεὸν δὲ ὄντα τῇ οὐσίᾳ, ὡς ἐκείνης ὂν τῆς οὐσίας ἥσπερ ἐστιν ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατήρ, ἐξ οὗπερ κατ' οὐσίαν ἐστίν.

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is "consubstantial with the Father and the Son[1]." The baptismal creeds of the later Church Orders, as we now have them, shew a similar tendency to bring the article which relates to the Holy Spirit into line with the accepted belief of the Church. In the creed of the *Apostolical Constitutions*[2] the catechumen is instructed to say "I am baptized also into the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, who wrought in all the saints since the world began, and afterwards was sent by the Father...to all believers"—words which an Arian could use. On the other hand the creeds of the Egyptian and Ethiopic Church Orders, as we have them, confess a consubstantial Trinity, and the Spirit as "holy, good, and life-giving[3]"; and in the *Testament of our Lord* the Spirit is not only called "the Lord," "the Giver of life," but said to be consubstantial with the Father[4].

Liturgical forms.

The liturgical forms, of which the fourth and following centuries produced a considerable number, many of them still accessible, witness to the place which the Holy Spirit held in the worship, and especially in the sacramental devotions, of the post-Nicene Church. The Church Orders everywhere recognize the presence and operations of the Holy Spirit, particularly in the Sacraments. Thus in the Sacramentary of Serapion, at the consecration of the

[1] Hahn-Harnack, p. 318 ὁμοούσιον πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ.

[2] vii. 40. For the date of *A. C.* cf. Brightman, *Liturgies*, p. xxix; Maclean, *Church Orders*, p. 149.

[3] Maclean, p. 101 f.

[4] See Cooper and Maclean, *T. of our L.*, p. 20.

font, the minister of baptism is directed to pray, "King and Lord of all things,...look upon these waters and fill them with the Holy Spirit[1]"; at the ministration of the 'oil of exorcism,' "Re-formed by this unction, cleansed by the laver, and renewed by the Spirit, may they [the catechumens] have strength to overcome[2]"; at the chrism, "We call upon Thee through the Divine invisible power of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ to work in this chrism a Divine and heavenly operation; that those who have now been baptized and are anointed therein...may become partakers of the gift of the Holy Spirit, and, safeguarded by this seal, may remain stedfast and unmoveable[3]." The *Testament of our Lord* gives the form of chrismation: "I anoint thee in God Almighty, and in Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Spirit[4]." At the imposition of the Bishop's hands, the *Testament* prays, "Make them worthy to be filled with Thy Holy Spirit, by Thy love of man, bestowing upon them Thy grace[5]"; while the *Canons of Hippolytus* offer the thanksgiving, "We bless Thee...for that Thou hast made these persons worthy to be born again, and dost pour upon them Thy Holy Spirit[6]."

Forms of ordination belonging to this period are not less explicit in their recognition of the work of the Holy Spirit at the conferring of Orders. Thus, in a prayer common to the ordination of bishops

[1] *J. T. S.* i. 263.
[2] *Ib.* p. 264.
[3] *Ib.* p. 265.
[4] Cooper and Maclean, p. 127.
[5] *Ib.*
[6] *Texte u. Untersuch.* vi. p. 98.

Part II. vi.

and presbyters, the *Canons* direct the ordaining Bishop to say, "Look on this Thy servant, bestowing on him Thy strength, and the Spirit of power which Thou didst give to Thy holy Apostles through our Lord Jesus Christ[1]." "When hands are laid on the elect (the Verona fragments direct), let all keep silence, praying in their hearts; because of the descent of the Spirit[2]." In the *Sacramentary of Serapion* the ordaining Bishop prays[3], "Make this man a deacon of Thy Catholic Church, and put within him the Spirit of knowledge and discernment"; "we lay our hands on this man [to be ordained presbyter], and pray that the Spirit of truth may rest on him; let the Divine Spirit be in him, that he may be able to be a steward to Thy people"; "O God of truth, make this man a living bishop, a holy bishop, a successor of the holy Apostles, and give him grace and that Divine Spirit which Thou didst grant to all Thy true servants and prophets and patriarchs." The *Testament* prescribes for use at the ordering of a presbyter the striking words: "Make him worthy .. to feed Thy people in holiness of heart, pure and true...labouring with cheerfulness and patience to be a vessel of Thy Holy Spirit, having and bearing always the Cross of Thy Only-begotten Son...through whom be praise and might to Thee with the Holy Ghost[4]." All the forms agree

[1] *Ib.*, p. 44 (cf. p. 61).
[2] Hauler, *Fragm. Veron. Lat.*, p. 103.
[3] *J. T. S.* i. p. 266 f.
[4] Cooper and Maclean, p. 91.

in recognizing the Holy Spirit as the source of ministerial power. Similarly, in all benedictions of the people the Spirit is regarded as the best gift which can be sought on their behalf: "May this people," the Bishop in Serapion's liturgy prays, "be blessed with the blessing of the Spirit, the blessing of Heaven, the blessing received by prophets and apostles[1]."

The invocation of the Holy Spirit in the consecration of the Eucharist was perhaps not quite so universal. We have already seen that there is no clear instance of the practice in the first three centuries[2]. The epiklesis in *Serapion* is addressed not to the Third Person but to the Second[3], and the only mention of the Spirit as operating in the Eucharist refers to His work on the clergy and people: "We pray Thee...make us living men; grant to us the Spirit of light, that we may know Thee the True, and Jesus Christ whom Thou didst send; grant us the Holy Spirit, that we may be able to utter and declare Thy ineffable mysteries; let the Lord Jesus speak in us, and the Holy Spirit, and praise Thee through us[4]." At Jerusalem, however, about the same time or a few years earlier, the Holy Spirit was invoked on the elements, as Cyril, Serapion's contemporary, bears witness[5]. From that time

[1] *J. T. S.* i. p. 102.

[2] See p. 147.

[3] The words are ἐπιδημησάτω, θεὲ τῆς ἀληθείας, ὁ ἅγιός σου λόγος ἐπὶ τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον...καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο (*J. T. S.* i. p. 106).

[4] *J. T. S.* i. p. 105.

[5] See p. 198; cf., however, *Catech. mystag.* i. 7.

Part II. vi.

in the East at least the recognition of the Spirit[1] in the epiklesis was general. Thus in the liturgy of the *Apostolical Constitutions* the invocation runs: "We pray Thee to send Thy Holy Spirit on this sacrifice, the Witness of the sufferings of the Lord Jesus, that He may declare (ἀποφήνῃ) this bread the Body of Thy Christ, and this cup His Blood[2]." Similar forms of invocation existed in the liturgy of Antioch, as represented by the writings of St Chrysostom[3]; and in the Egyptian liturgy, according to Theophilus of Alexandria[4], and as now attested by papyrus fragments of the canon, which are assigned to the sixth or seventh century[5]. The Ethiopic Church Order, and the cognate Order preserved in the Verona fragments[6],

[1] But the thought of the Logos descending on the elements was not altogether abandoned; cf. a passage cited from St Eutychius of Constantinople (†582) in Brightman, *Liturgies*, p. 533: καταβαίνει ὁ λόγος εἰς τὸν ἄρτον καὶ τὸ ποτήριον καὶ γίνεται αὐτοῦ σῶμα. [2] *Ap. Const.* viii. 12.

[3] See Brightman, *Liturgies*, pp. 474, 480.

[4] *Ib.* pp. 505, 508.

[5] Printed in Cabrol, *Dict. d'Archéologie Chrétienne*, ii. 1882ff. The words of the *epiklesis* are: πλήρωσον καὶ ἡμᾶς τῆς παρ[ά σοι] δόξης, [κα]ὶ καταξίωσον κατ[απ]έμψαι τὸ πνεῦμα τ[ὸ ἅ]γιόν σου ἐπὶ τὰ κτίσματα ταῦτα, [καὶ ποίησ]ον τὸν μὲν ἄρτον σῶμα [τοῦ κυρίου καὶ] σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, [τὸ] δὲ π[οτήριον α]ἷμα τῆς καινῆς [διαθήκης]. Cf. the epiklesis in *St Mark* (Brightman, p. 134).

[6] See Horner, *Statuta*, p. 146; Hauler, *Verona Fragments*, p. 10. The form given by the latter is "petimus ut mittas spiritum tuum sanctum in oblationem sanctae ecclesiae." Bp Maclean would place the Eth. C. O. before the Macedonian controversy (*Ch. Orders*, p. 160 f.), but some of the phrases which he quotes from it (e.g., "consubstantial Trinity," p. 115) seem to demand a somewhat later date.

also contain an invocation of the Holy Spirit. The great Greek liturgies of a later time, which perpetuate the tradition of the fourth and fifth centuries, shew this feature without exception ; there are verbal differences, but the invocation of the Spirit finds a place in the liturgies of St James, St Mark, St Basil and St Chrysostom, representing severally the practice of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Constantinople. So general in the East, from the fourth century, was the desire to connect the consecration of the Eucharist with the presence and work of the Holy Spirit.

Lastly, the ancient Church assigned to the Coming of the Holy Spirit an important place among the commemorations of the Church year. 'Pentecost[1]' was often, and at first usually, an inclusive term for the fifty days[1] that followed Easter —"that most joyful season (as Tertullian calls it[2]) when the disciples had frequent proofs of the Resurrection, and first received the grace of the Holy Spirit." But the fiftieth day itself was certainly observed in memory of the coming of the Spirit from the latter part of the fourth century. "Ten days after the Ascension (the *Apostolical Constitutions* direct) let there be a great feast unto you, for on that day at the third hour the Lord Jesus sent unto us the gift of the Holy Spirit[3]." At Jerusalem,

[1] As if it were equivalent to ἡ πεντηκονθήμερος (περίοδος). On the wide extension of this use of πεντηκοστή see Dowden, *Church Year*, p. 43 ff.

[2] Tert. *de bapt.* 19. For laetissimum there is a *v. l.* latissimum "most ample."

[3] *Ap. Const.* v. 20 (ed. Lagarde).

Part II. vi.

towards the end of the century, Etheria found the day marked by an elaborate ritual; among other observances the whole Christian population assembled at the third hour on Mount Sion, and "the passage in the Acts where the Spirit descends was read[1]." At Constantinople Gregory of Nazianzus preached on the feast of Pentecost, and bade his congregation "do honour to the day of the Spirit[2]." Augustine speaks of the festival as being observed in his time "throughout the world[3]." The concentration of Christian thought and worship upon the Holy Spirit at this season was doubtless one of the permanent fruits of the long struggle which ended in the vindication of the Spirit's co-essential Deity. Thus the fifth century and all later centuries entered into the labours of the fourth, and the fuller theology won by the patient work of an age of saintly teachers gained for future ages of the Church a riper knowledge and richer stores of devotion.

[1] *Peregrinatio Silviae* (ed. Gamurrini), p. 70.
[2] Or. xliv. (*in Pentecosten*).
[3] *C. Faust.* xxxiii. 12; ep. 54 (*in Januarium*).

VII.

HILARY OF POITIERS, AND HIS WESTERN CONTEMPORARIES.

It is time to return to the West, where we left Damasus strenuously upholding the Catholic faith[1]. Damasus died in 384, and his place as a champion of the faith was taken by such men as Ambrose of Milan and, after him, Augustine of Hippo. But before we consider their contribution to the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, we must go back to a Western writer who attracted less attention than these great teachers and yet fills a place in Christian thought hardly less important than theirs.

Hilary of Poitiers.

Hilary of Poitiers was born before Arianism began and died more than a decade before it received its death-blow at the hands of the Council of Constantinople[2]. Like Justin, Hilary approached the faith by way of philosophy. His great treatise on the Trinity opens with a record of the experience through which he passed on his way from Neo-platonism to Christianity. The process was similar

[1] Pp. 178 ff., 188.

[2] Hilary died in 368; the year of his birth is unknown, but it could not have been much later than 300.

Part II. vii.

to that which led Justin to the faith. A study of the Old Testament brought him to see in the God of Israel a worthier conception of the Infinite than could be gained from Plotinus. Turning to the New Testament he learnt from the Christian Scriptures the doctrine of the Incarnation, and was led to know God as Father, Son, and Spirit. Thus he was brought to accept Catholic Christianity, not by the weight of authority or the persuasion of parents or teachers, but by an independent study of Scripture and a personal experience based upon it. If he consistently defended the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity against its Arian opponents, he did so because his own spiritual history proved the Catholic doctrine to be true. "My soul," he says, "has been burning to answer these insane attacks. I call to mind that the very centre of a saving faith is the belief not merely in God, but in God as a Father; not merely in Christ, but in Christ as the Son of God; in Him not as a creature, but as God the Creator, born of God[1]." It is with the eternal relation of the Son to the Father, and His relation in time to the human nature which He assumed, that Hilary is chiefly concerned. When he wrote the *De Trinitate* the doctrine of the Holy Spirit was still undeveloped[2]; and if we remember how little attention was paid to

[1] *De Trin.* i. 17 (Migne, *P. L.* x. 37). I use generally the admirable translation of Professor E. W. Watson (*Nicene and post-Nicene Fathers*, vol. ix.).

[2] Books ii. and iii. were perhaps composed before 356, and books iv.—xii. during Hilary's exile in Phrygia, i.e., between 356 and 362; see Dr Watson's introduction, *op. cit.* p. xxxi ff.

that subject before 360, it is a surprise to find that the earlier part of his work contains so much upon it. The following extracts will shew how deeply Hilary had reflected upon the relations of the Spirit to God, even perhaps during the years before his exile in the East. Part II. vii.

"God the Father is One, from whom are all things; and our Lord Jesus Christ, the Only-begotten, through whom are all things, is One; and the Spirit, God's gift to us, who pervades all things, is also One....Nothing can be found lacking in that supreme Union which embraces, in Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, infinity in the Eternal, His likeness in His express Image, our enjoyment of Him in the Gift[1]." *De Trinitate.*

"Faith ought in silence to fulfil the commandments, worshipping the Father, reverencing with Him the Son, abounding in the Holy Ghost....The error of others compels us to err in daring to embody in human terms truths which ought to be hidden in the silent veneration of the heart[2]." "We must proclaim, exactly as we shall find them in the words of Scripture, the majesty and functions of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and so debar the heretics from robbing these names of their connotation of Divine character....God Himself has assigned the names which are our information of the Divine nature[3]."

After treating of the Father and of the Son[4],

[1] *De Trin.* ii. 1 infinitas in aeterno, species in imagine, usus in munere.

[2] *Ib.* 2. [3] *Ib.* 5. [4] *Ib.* 6—28.

Part II. vii.

Hilary proceeds: "Concerning the Holy Spirit I ought not to be silent, and yet I have no need to speak; still, for the sake of those who are in ignorance, I cannot refrain. There is no need to speak, because we are bound to confess Him, deriving His origin, as He does, from the Father and the Son (patre et filio auctoribus)[1]. For my own part, I think it wrong to discuss the question of His existence. He does exist, inasmuch as He is given, received, retained. He is joined with Father and Son in our confession of the faith, and cannot be excluded from a true confession of Father and Son; take away a part, and the whole faith is marred....Wherefore since He is, and is given, and is possessed, and is of God, let His traducers take refuge in silence. When they ask, Through whom is He? To what end does He exist? Of what nature is He? we answer that He it is through whom all things exist, and from whom are all things; and that He is the Spirit of God, God's Gift to the faithful[2]."

On the offices of the Spirit, Hilary is able to speak with the freedom which comes from experience. "Let us hear from our Lord's own words what is the work of the Holy Spirit within us...'He shall guide you into all the truth...He shall declare unto you the things that are to come; He shall glorify me.'

[1] Dr Watson translates, "proceeding, as He does, from F. and S." Perhaps it is safer to avoid the technical word 'proceed,' which Hilary does not use in this connexion.

[2] *De Trin.* ii. 29.

These words...tell how, because our feeble minds cannot comprehend the Father or the Son, our faith which finds God's incarnation hard of credence shall be illumined by the gift of the Holy Ghost, the Bond of union and the Source of light. The next step naturally is to listen to the Apostle's account of the powers and functions of this Gift: 'As many as are led by the Spirit of God, these are the sons of God.'...'Ye received the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father.'...'No man can say, Jesus is Lord, but in the Holy Spirit. Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit...all these worketh the one and the same Spirit.' Here we have a statement of the purpose and results of the Gift; and I cannot conceive what doubt can remain after so clear a definition of His origin, His action, and His powers....This Holy Spirit we must seek and must earn, and then hold fast by faith and obedience to the commands of God[1]."

The subject of the Holy Spirit is taken up again in the eighth book, with reference more especially to His relation to the Father and the Son.

"As to that which [the Son] sends from the Father, how shall we regard it? as received, or sent forth, or begotten? For His words must imply one or other of these modes of sending. And He will send from the Father that Spirit of truth which proceedeth from the Father. He cannot therefore be the recipient, since He is revealed as the sender. It only remains to make sure of our judgement on

[1] *Ib.* 33—35.

Part II. vii.

the point whether we are to believe an egress of a co-existent Being, or a process of a Being begotten[1]."

Hilary then proceeds to examine the sense in which the Spirit is said to 'receive from' the Son, and he decides that if there is a difference between proceeding from the Father and receiving from the Son, there is certainly none between receiving from the Son and receiving from the Father; He receives from the Son, because all things that the Father hath are the Son's. The Spirit of God is therefore also the Spirit of Christ, as St Paul teaches in Rom. viii. He is the "One Spirit of the One Divinity, One in both God and Lord through the mystery of the Birth (per nativitatis sacramentum)[2]."

Of the Spirit's part in the Incarnation[3] Hilary says: "The Virgin conceived what she conceived only from His own Holy Spirit[3], and though she supplied that element which women always contribute, still Jesus Christ was not formed by an ordinary human conception. Though His birth was wholly caused by the action of the Holy Spirit, the Virgin performed the part which belongs to the mother in human birth. This deep and beautiful mystery of His assumption of manhood the Lord Himself reveals in the words, 'No man hath ascended into heaven but He that descended from heaven, even the

[1] *De Trin.* viii. 19 utrum in hoc consistentis egressionem an geniti processionem existimemus.

[2] *Ib.* 20—32; cf. ix. 73.

[3] See however Mr E. Bishop's remarks in *Homilies of Narsai*, p. 160 ff.

Son of Man which is in heaven.' *Descended from heaven* refers to His origin from the Spirit, *Son of Man* to the birth of the flesh conceived in the Virgin; *Who is in heaven* implies the power of His eternal nature—an infinite nature, which could not restrict itself to the limits of the body[1]."... The Virgin "brought forth a body, but one conceived of the Holy Spirit; a body possessing inherent reality but with no infirmity in its nature...above the weakness of our body, because it had its beginning in a spiritual conception[2]." Part II. vii.

The twelfth book, which is perhaps the latest with the exception of the first, states in its closing words the conclusion at which Hilary arrived with regard to the Person of the Spirit. The noble confession in which it is enshrined must be quoted at length.

"For my part I cannot be content by the service of my faith and voice to deny that my Lord and my God, Thy only begotten, Jesus Christ, is a creature. I must also deny that this name of creature belongs to Thy Holy Spirit, seeing that He proceeds from Thee and is sent through Him—so great is my reverence for everything that is Thine. Nor, because I know that Thou only art ingenerate (innascibilem), and that the Only begotten is born of Thee, will I refuse to say that the Holy Spirit was begotten or assert that He was ever created. I fear the incipient blasphemies, extending even to Thee, that are implied in the use of this name which I share with the rest of the

[1] *De Trin.* x. 15 f. [2] *Ib.* 35.

Part II. vii.

things brought into existence by Thee. Thy Holy Spirit, as the Apostle says, searches and knows Thy deep things, and as intercessor for me speaks to Thee words I could not utter; and shall I venture to express or rather to dishonour by the title of 'Creature' the abiding power of His nature which is derived from Thee through Thy Only begotten? Nothing, except what belongs to Thee, penetrates into Thee, nor can the agency of a power foreign and strange to Thee measure the depth of Thy boundless majesty. To Thee belongs whatever enters into Thee, nor is anything strange to Thee which dwells in Thee through its searching power[1]."

"But I cannot utter the glory of Him whose pleas for me are to me unutterable. As in the matter of the eternal generation of Thy Only begotten, when our last ambiguous word has been said, and our struggle to understand has reached its limit, there remains only the fact that He was so generated; so my consciousness holds fast that Thy Holy Spirit is from Thee through Him, though my intellect does not grasp the truth. For in Thy spiritual things I am dull, as Thy Only begotten says, 'The Spirit breathes where it will and thou hearest the voice of it, but dost not know whence it comes or whither it goes. So is every one who is born of water and of the Holy Spirit.' Though I hold a belief in my regeneration, I hold it in ignorance; I possess the reality, though I comprehend it not. Since then the cause of His coming and going is

[1] *De Trin.* xii. 55.

unknown, though the witness is conscious of the fact, shall I count the nature of the Spirit among created things, and limit Him by defaming His origin ?...I will not trespass beyond what the human intellect can reach or say anything else about Thy Holy Spirit but that He is Thy Spirit. Not mine be the useless strife of words, but the constant profession of an unhesitating faith. Keep, I pray Thee, this my devout faith undefiled, and grant that to my last breath this may be the utterance of my convictions, so that I may ever hold fast that which I professed in the creed of my baptism, when I was baptized in the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost ; that I may, in short, adore Thee our Father, and Thy Son together with Thee, and with Thy Holy Spirit who is from Thee through thy Only begotten[1]."

Notwithstanding his Western origin and classical education, Hilary's general treatment of the doctrine of the Trinity is Eastern rather than Western. He is influenced by Origen, and he anticipates the Cappadocians in the cautious reserve with which he handles points where there is no Scriptural warrant for explicit statements. His theology has more affinity with that of Basil and Gregory of Nyssa, than with that of Tertullian ; from the dogmatic tone of the Roman Damasus he is far removed. With Athanasius Hilary has much in common, and the aversion with which he regards Arianism is hardly less whole-hearted than that which marks Athanasius. But on the Deity of the Holy Spirit

[1] *De Trin.* xii. 55—57.

Part II. vii.

he speaks with less assurance than the great Alexandrian. He could hardly have seen the Letters to Serapion when he wrote the *De Trinitate*, and he has in view the Semiarians of Asia Minor rather than the Egyptian Tropici. But even if the circumstances had been the same, Hilary would probably not have written with the technical precision or the confidence of Athanasius. His consciousness indeed revolts from the thought that the Spirit of God and of Christ is a creature; He whose are all things that belong to the Father[1], and whose unity of nature with the Father and the Son is shewn by His receiving from Both[2], must needs be 'co-essential' with Both. But Hilary abstains from using the term; it seems to him more reverent to be silent where Scripture is silent. Hence his scheme of the Trinity is incomplete; the Third Person is not wholly co-ordinated with the First and the Second. Nor is he prepared to decide the question whether generation can be predicated of the Spirit; whether 'to receive' is the same thing as 'to proceed'; whether the Father and the Son are Both sources of the Spirit's eternal being or only of His mission as the Paraclete. On the whole he inclines to the Eastern view which regards the Spirit as from the Father through the Son[3]. Of the work of the Holy Spirit in the enlightenment and sanctification of the

[1] *De Trin.* ix. 73. [2] *Ib.* viii. 20.

[3] See *de Trin.* ii. 29, where the question "per quem sit" is answered, "per quem omnia et ex quo omnia sunt"; cf. ii. 1 pater ex quo omnia et...dominus J. C. per quem omnia.

soul no ancient writer has spoken with more conviction. He seems to turn with peculiar satisfaction from a speculative pneumatology to the practical consequences that flow from the doctrine of the Spirit. "Let us therefore make use of this great benefit and seek for personal experience of this most needful gift (usum maxime necessarii muneris).... The soul of man, unless through faith it have appropriated the gift of the Spirit, will have the innate faculty of apprehending God, but be destitute of the light of knowledge. That gift, which is in Christ, is one, yet offered, and offered fully, to all; it is denied to none, and given to each according to the measure of his willingness to receive; its stores the richer, the more earnest the desire to earn them. It is with us unto the end of the world, the solace of our waiting, the assurance of the hope that shall be ours, the light of our minds, the sun of our souls[1]."

A striking contrast to the cautious reserve of Hilary is presented by the positive teaching of his lay contemporary, Marius Victorinus. About the middle of the fourth century, Marius, still a pagan, taught rhetoric at Rome with general approbation. Late in life, to the surprise of all and the joy of the Church, he accepted Christianity in its Catholic form. An African by birth, and a Roman by long residence in the capital, his catholicity was of the Western type, dogmatic and polemical; and his judgements are expressed in no uncertain terms in his extant works, which include four books against

[1] *De Trin.* ii. 35.

Part II. vii.

Arius, a tract on the Homoousion, and some hymns on the Holy Trinity. Marius, like Hilary, was a convert from Neoplatonism; but he did not succeed, as Hilary did, in setting himself free from his earlier convictions, and his books are an attempt to graft his newly acquired faith on the stock of Plotinian philosophy[1]. The following extracts from his *Adversus Arium*, which must have appeared nearly at the same time as Hilary's *De Trinitate*, will shew his attitude towards the doctrine of the Holy Spirit.

"If God is spirit, and Jesus Christ is spirit, and the Holy Ghost is spirit, there are three of one substance, or who in other words are consubstantial. But the Holy Spirit is from Christ, as Christ is from God; and so the Three are One. God is in Christ, and Christ in the Holy Spirit....All three are One; the Father a Silence which is not silent, but a Voice in silence; the Son the same Voice now audible (iam vox), the Paraclete, the Voice's Voice....Therefore the Spirit is said to receive from Christ, and Christ Himself from the Father[2]." "We confess the Holy Spirit, then, as having all things from God the Father; the Word, that is, Jesus Christ, delivering to Him all that He has from the Father[3]." The Spirit thus both precedes and follows the Son; precedes, if He is regarded as the Spirit of the Father, and follows, inasmuch as He receives His

[1] Cf. Bp Gore's article in *D.C.B.* iv. 1131; Harnack's *History of Dogma*, E.T., v. p. 33 ff.

[2] *Adv. Arium* i. 12 ff. (Migne, *P. L.* viii. 1646 ff.).

[3] *Ib.* 47.

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[3] *Ib.* 47.

being (quod est) from the Son. The Son, again, as He is spirit, is one with the Father, and all exist in Each Other; They are therefore consubstantial, having one and the same substance, and always and simultaneously maintain the *homoousion* in the intercourse of the Divine life, whilst in action each has a subsistence proper to Himself[1]."

"Jesus Christ was born after the flesh of (de) Mary from (ex) the Holy Spirit, the Power of the Highest. Therefore Christ our Lord is all things: flesh, Holy Spirit, the Power of the Highest, the Logos[2]." "The Holy Spirit in some sense is Jesus Christ Himself, but a Christ hidden from sight, a Christ within, who converses with souls and teaches these things; gives understanding, and is generated by the Father through Christ (a patre per Christum genitum), and in Christ." The Father and the Son are one substance yet two persons; so are Christ and the Holy Spirit. Though Both are one substance, Each has His own personal existence[3].

By the words just quoted Marius saves himself from the charge of Sabellianism. Yet the hymns on the Trinity, if they are his, shew how near he came to a confusion of the Persons. "Be present, Holy Spirit, Bond of the Father and the Son; Father when Thou art at rest, Son when Thou goest

[1] *Ib.* 16 semper simul ὁμοούσιοι divina affectione, secundum actionem subsistentiam propriam habentes.

[2] *Ib.* 56 f.

[3] *Adv. Arium* iv. 33 existit tamen Christus sua existentia, et Spiritus Sanctus sua, sed ambo una substantia.

Part II. vii.

forth....Spirit of operations, Spirit of ministrations, Spirit of the gifts of grace: O blessed Trinity....In substance Thou art God, in form Thou art Word, in knowledge, Holy Ghost; Being, Life, Knowledge; Fixity, Progress, Regress; First Entity, Second Entity, Third Entity; yet the three but one. Word, God, the Holy Spirit, Thou art the same, O blessed Trinity. Thou, Holy Spirit, art the connecting link; that Thou mayest link all things together, Thou dost first link Two, and art Thyself the third[1]."

Much of this passed into the service of Catholic theology in the writings of Augustine and his followers. Crude as the theological language of Victorinus is, he marks progress in Western Christian thought, and had his conversion occurred while he was in the prime of life, it is possible that his name might have been only less prominent in the history of doctrine than that of the Bishop of Hippo. But it was his lot to be a pioneer and, like many men of his type, to remain in comparative obscurity.

Lucifer of Cagliari.

Another contemporary of Hilary deserves notice if only for the sake of the contrast which his rigid orthodoxy offers to the independent faith of the Bishop of Poitiers on the one hand, and the Christianized Neoplatonism of Marius Victorinus on the other. Lucifer, Bishop of Calaris (Cagliari) died two years before the Council of Constantinople, and his principal writings are earlier than the death of Constantius (361); yet his statement of

[1] See Migne, *P. L.* viii. 1139 ff.

the Deity of the Holy Spirit exceeds in explicitness anything that we find in Athanasius. He is the Epiphanius of the Western Church, and less tolerant than Epiphanius was. He does not think or reason; he is content to assert. His assertions are in agreement with the ultimate decisions of the Church, but it may be doubted whether his pitiless dogmatism helped the cause of orthodoxy. We assent to his creed, and admire his readiness to defend it against all comers; but it is impossible to acquiesce in the narrow and bitter spirit which makes itself felt in all that he wrote. The following passages will illustrate the change of tone which meets us when we pass from Hilary and Victorinus to Lucifer.

"How can that be called a Council in which no counsel is taken but how to deny the Son of God, and to maintain that...the Paraclete is not the true Spirit of God[1]?" "How can any one who believes as we do be disturbed by the Devil working through the supporters of the Arian blasphemy; seeing that the Apostolic faith acknowledges a complete Trinity, and confesses the one and only Godhead of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost[2]?" "Holy Church has accepted as its creed that Father, Son, and Holy Ghost possess one power, one sovereignty—the faith which you call heretical[3]." "Your purpose is to bring into the Church your heresy, which blasphemes the one Godhead of Father, Son, and

[1] *De non conveniendo* (Migne, *P. L.* xiii. 775).

[2] *Ib.* (Migne, 781).

[3] *Pro Athanasio* i. (Migne, 875).

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Holy Spirit[1]." "When you begin to see that we are right in confessing the eternity of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit—that in the Father and His only Son and the Holy Ghost the Comforter there is one greatness and one power; where will they be who drove you to commit this sacrilege[2]?"

When it is remembered that the person addressed in these trenchant remarks is the Emperor of the West, we are bound to admit that Lucifer was not wanting in courage. But he certainly had no reason to complain when Constantius replied by returning his books and sending their writer into a more remote place of exile.

Niceta of Remesiana.

Two other Western writers may perhaps be classed among junior contemporaries of Hilary. Of Niceta of Remesiana in Dacia little is known, even after the investigations of Dom Morin and Dr Burn. He seems to have flourished in the second half of the fourth century, and the book he has left us on the Holy Spirit, while it recognizes the activity of the Macedonians and their allies[3], does not seem to belong to the latest days of the struggle[4]. In any case its treatment of the question is fresh

[1] *Ib.* ii. (Migne, 889; cf. 848).

[2] *De non parcendo* (Migne, 991).

[3] *De Spiritu Sancto* 2 Macedoniani vel eorum in hac curiositate participes.

[4] See A. E. Burn, *Niceta*, p. lxviii ff. But the internal evidence is not strong or clear, and the few indications of his *floruit* point to a somewhat later date. "The only fixed dates in his [Niceta's] history are...398 and 402, and the mention of his name in letters of Pope Innocent in 409 and 414." (Burn, p. xxxv.)

and independent, and is singularly free from the bitterness which we deplore in Lucifer. "Prejudice (he writes) is mischievous. We hear a whisper to the disadvantage of a good man, and such is human nature that if it reaches us before we know the facts, it takes so great a hold upon our minds that competent witnesses can hardly drive it out. I suspect that this is what now happens to many who have come to believe that the Holy Spirit is a creature and even to look down upon Him as a minister or servant[1]." "The brief clause in which the Nicene Creed expressed faith in the Holy Spirit was sufficient at the time, for no question or opposition had arisen with regard to Him. But the churches have since been harassed by endless questions such as these, 'What is the nature of the Holy Spirit? whence is He? how great is He? was He born or made?' Other points are continually coming up, to the undoing of simple souls who are thus sent headlong into blasphemy, not knowing what they do (nescium praecipitat in blasphemiam). People are forced to the conclusion that if the Spirit is neither born of the Father nor ingenerate He must be a creature[2]." "How is the faith of the Church to deal with these logical conclusions? She will do well to disregard them and have recourse to the authority of her Lord[3]. He has told us the source of the Spirit, that He proceeds from the Father....Here is Christ's

[1] *De Sp. S.* 1. [2] *Ib.* 2.

[3] *Ib.* 3 melius plane faciet si spretis conclusionibus...ad domini sui se vertat auctoritatem.

Part II. vii.

own account of the Spirit's origin; He is neither born nor made, but proceeds[1]." "We believe then, that the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, proceeds from the Father; that He is not Son, or Son's son, but the Spirit of truth, the nature and manner of whose procession (cuius processio aut qualis aut quanta sit) it is not permitted to any man to understand. This Spirit, we know, exists in a true person, marked by properties of Its own (in persona esse propria et vera), and is the Fountain of Sanctification, the Light of Souls, the Distributor of Grace; He sanctifies, but is not sanctified; He enlightens, but is not enlightened; nor can any creature without this Spirit either attain to eternal life (aeternitatem) or be truly described as holy....It is not only in Baptism that the Holy Spirit is associated with the Father and the Son, but in all Divine activities past and present: in creation and in communicating life; in foreknowledge, in ubiquity, in convicting and judging the world. He is good as God is good; He exercises Divine authority, comforts with Divine consolation, punishes with Divine severity. What need to say what He is who thus reveals Himself by the greatness of His works? He can be no stranger to the Divine Nature, who is no stranger to the Divine activities. It is idle to refuse to Him the name of God or the worship due to God, when you cannot deny that He has the power of God. I will therefore adore Father, Son, and Holy Spirit with one

[1] *Ibid.* Christus neque natura neque factura dixit Spiritum Sanctum sed hoc solum quia de patre procedit.

and the same religious worship[1]; not separately, as the heathen worship their 'gods many,' but as One God. When worship is paid to the Spirit, it is paid to Him whose Spirit He is. Let it not be thought that we can add to the majesty of God by worshipping Him, or take from it by withholding our worship; the gain or the loss is theirs who give or refuse their worship. By refusing Divine honour to the Holy Spirit you renounce your own claim to be a spiritual Christian. Adore and magnify, then, the Trinity in its entirety (perfectam trinitatem), both with heart and voice; and follow peace and love with all men, abounding in good works through the power of the Holy Ghost."

These are words worthy of one to whom some modern scholars have ascribed the authorship of the *Te Deum*[2]. A different tone pervades the remarkable collection of *Questions on the Old and New Testaments*[3], which is now ascribed to Isaac of Rome[4]. Isaac was a Jew who became a Christian, but afterwards relapsed to Judaism. While a member of the Church he supported the claims of Ursinus against Damasus, laying against the latter charges of which he was acquitted by a Roman Council of 378. It is singular and highly interesting to find so determined

Isaac the Jew.

[1] *Ib.* 5—19.

[2] See Burn, *op. cit.* pp. c—ciii; Bp J. Wordsworth in *Dict. of Hymnology* (ed. 1907), p. 1122 f.; on the other hand cf. p. 1124, § 7.

[3] Edited for the Vienna Corpus by Prof. A. Souter (1908).

[4] See Dr Souter's *prolegomena*, p. xxiii f., and his *Study of Ambrosiaster* (in *Texts and Studies*, VII. 4).

Part II. vii.

an enemy of Damasus not less rigidly orthodox on the question of the consubstantial Deity of the Holy Spirit than that great Pope himself, and the fact is still more remarkable if his book was written before the Council of Constantinople. One extract may suffice to illustrate Isaac's position. "The Apostle John says, 'Hereby we know that He (God) abideth in us, by the Spirit which He hath given us.' Therefore, if God is said to abide in us when the Spirit abides in us, the Spirit of God is shewn to be God....If the Holy Spirit is not consubstantial with God and with Christ, it is improper to place Him in the same category with the Father and the Son....What sensible man would deny that the Creator cannot be classed with the creature, or the Eternal matched with one whose existence had a beginning, or the Master with the servant, the Mighty with the impotent, He who knows with the ignorant?...Let this dispute come to an end. The Spirit is third in order, not in nature; in relation, not in Godhead; in person, not in nescience[1]. As the Son of God is second after the Father, yet not inferior to Him in Godhead; so, also, the Holy Spirit, following after the Son, has no disparity with Him, but is His equal in the substance of the Godhead[2]."

The testimony of this unsatisfactory convert is valuable so far as it reflects the state of lay opinion at Rome in the age of Damasus. It is far removed

[1] Sed iam cesset calumnia, tertius enim ordine est, non natura; gradu, non divinitate; persona, non ignorantia.

[2] *Quaestiones V. et N. T.* cxxv. (ed. Souter, p. 390 ff.).

from the reverent reserve of Hilary, and from the practical piety of Niceta. Isaac's orthodoxy is of a type which has little influence on character and life, but answers with precision and fulness to local or contemporary belief. Herein lies its importance for the student of the history of Christian thought in the West.

VIII.

AMBROSE AND AUGUSTINE.

No great teacher of the Church ever entered on his work with less theological knowledge than Ambrose of Milan. The fact is frankly admitted by himself. "Men," he writes, "have to learn beforehand what they are to teach. Even this did not fall to my lot. I was hurried into the priestly office from the magistrate's chair and badge, and at first I had to teach what I had not learnt. With me learning and teaching must go on simultaneously, for I had no time to learn till I became a teacher[1]." Even after his consecration no interval for retirement and continuous study was given him; only the moments that could be snatched from the busy hours of the day or the silence of the night were available for reading and meditation[2]. Such circumstances are perhaps not unfavourable to the making of a great Bishop, or an eloquent and inspiring preacher; the experience of life has often supplied what was lacking in the way of erudition to the administrator of a

[1] Ambr. *De officiis*, i. 1.

[2] Aug. *Confess.* vi. 3, Ambr. *ep.* 29. 1, 47. 1.

great diocese or the pulpit orator. But Ambrose was called to the task of instructing the whole Church by his pen upon crucial questions of Christian theology. Moreover the call came in the early days of his episcopate. Only four years after his baptism and consecration he received from Gratian, the Emperor of the West, a request that he would write on the Godhead of the Son, and add to his treatise a supplement on the Godhead of the Spirit[1]. Ambrose took the task in hand at once, and his defence of the Godhead of the Son appears among his works under the title *De fide*; in the place of the supplement proposed by the Emperor he wrote later on, probably in the year of the Second Council, another treatise in three books on the Holy Spirit[2].

De Spiritu Sancto.

To St Ambrose belongs the merit of being the first Western writer who devoted a separate work of any magnitude to the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. It has no claim to originality; the student who has read Athanasius, Basil, and Didymus on the same subject, will find little that is new in Ambrose. Yet there was no occasion for the rudeness of Jerome, who, according to Ruffinus[3], described the writer as a jackdaw dressed in the feathers of other birds, and charged him with spoiling the good things he had stolen from the Greeks[4]. It was not in the spirit of

[1] Ambr. *epp.* 1, 2 (the letter of Gratian, and the Bishop's reply).

[2] *De Spiritu Sancto* (Migne, *P. L.* xvi. 731 ff.).

[3] *Apol.* ii. 23 ff.

[4] "Ex graecis bonis latina non bona."

Part II. viii.

a plagiarist that the Bishop of Milan placed in the hands of Latin-speaking Catholics the reasoning by which his great contemporaries in the East had vindicated the Deity of the Spirit; that he was content to use the labours of other men argues in his case both humility and good sense. *Latina non bona* is true of Ambrose's work only in so far as Greek theology must always suffer by translation into a harsher and less subtle tongue.

A summary of Ambrose *On the Holy Spirit* will serve to shew the impression produced upon a strong and practical Western mind by the teaching of the Eastern Church during the two decades which ended in the Council of Constantinople.

The Holy Spirit, Ambrose insists, is not one amongst all things that were made by the Word, but above them all (non inter omnia sed super omnia)[1].

The silence of Scripture about the Spirit in certain places where the Father and the Son are named is not to be pressed any more than its silence about the Father and the Son where the Spirit alone is named. The three Persons of the Trinity have one operation, and when one Person is mentioned, the other two are included by implication. To speak of the Spirit is to imply the existence of the Father from whom He proceeds, and of the Son whose Spirit He is....Being the Spirit of God, the Holy Spirit is essentially good; He does not receive, but imparts[2]. When we are said to be baptized with water and the

[1] *De Sp. S.* i. 2. [2] *Ib.* i. 5.

Spirit, there is no equation of the two. The water is merely the symbol of our burial into the death of Christ; the Spirit is the power which raises us to newness of life, and impresses upon us the Divine image. How can He be less than Divine[1]? Furthermore, He is shewn to be Divine by His being poured out on all flesh; for this proves that He is not circumscribed, as the creature is, by limitations of place and time[2]....In proceeding from the Father, the Spirit does not go from place to place, nor is He parted either from the Father or the Son. Where the Father is, there is the Son; where the Son is, there is the Holy Ghost. The grace, love, and fellowship of the Three are one and the same. Though the Persons are three, the Divine Name is one[3]. The Holy Spirit is the power which is common to the Three; it is life to know the Spirit, as it is to know the Father and the Son. Creative power belongs to the Spirit; He was concerned in the creation of the world; He was the author of the Incarnation, since He formed the humanity of the Lord....He creates believers anew in Baptism[4].

The opponents of the Godhead of the Holy Spirit vainly appeal to Amos iv. 13, which they misinterpret. They are equally far from the truth when they quibble over the prepositions 'in' and 'with.' Men who are unbelievers at heart can always find a way to attack the faith by such verbal niceties (qui corde non credunt calumniam struunt verbis).

[1] i. 6.
[2] i. 7—10.
[3] i. 11—13.
[4] ii. 1—5.

Part II. viii.

But they are answered by the words of Baptism, which attribute to the Spirit a part in the honour or the work (whichever way you regard it) which belongs to the Father and the Son (consortium honoris aut operis). Again, when they urge St Paul's use of 'through' and 'in,' they forget that 'through' is also used in reference to the Father; in certain circumstances the prepositions are interchangeable[1]. The Holy Trinity has in fact one operation and one will. As the Son receives from the Father, so the Holy Spirit receives from the Son, by virtue of unity of essence. All His gifts are from the Father through the Son[2].

The Son Himself was sent by the Spirit, who anointed Him to His office, and the Son in turn sent the Spirit; both were given by the Father[3]. The Son is the Father's Right Hand, the Spirit His Finger. These figures do not imply inferiority of nature, but only cooperation; the Right Hand, the Finger of God, is God in operation, the Father working by the Son, and the Son by the Spirit[4]. The Spirit convicts, judges, punishes, as the Son does; He is grieved, tempted, provoked, as God is. As God, He dwells in the temple of our body, the Father and the Son abiding in us through the Spirit[5].

This is not tritheism. We hold that God is One, and this Unity excludes plurality in number, of which the nature of God is not capable[6]. But we assert

[1] *De Sp. S.* ii. 8. [2] ii. 10—12. [3] iii. 1.
[4] iii. 3—5. [5] iii. 10—12.
[6] iii. 13 cum...numerum non recipiat divina natura.

the Unity of God without prejudice to the Trinity of Persons. The Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit, each is Lord; yet there are not three Lords but one. So the Father is holy, the Son holy, and the Holy Spirit holy; yet they are not three Holies, but thrice holy; as there is but one true Godhead, so there is one true sanctity of nature[1].

There are four notes of Godhead[2]: to be without sin; to have the power to forgive sin; to create; to be the object of Divine worship. All these notes are possessed by the Holy Spirit, so far as our knowledge goes. What has God that the Spirit of God has not? He proceeds out of the throne of God and of the Lamb. With the Father and the Son He is the Lord of Sabaoth seen by the prophet Isaiah, 'high and lifted up.' The Arian attempt to drag the Spirit down from His place in the glory of the Godhead is full of danger for those who make it. But it is also wholly beyond their powers. He who searches the heights of God cannot be brought down to the level of the creature[3].

The argument of the *De Spiritu Sancto* is occasionally defaced by the faulty exegesis from which the best contemporary work of the Greek theologians is not free. But on the whole it is well sustained; Ambrose had read his authorities to good purpose, and he rendered an incalculable service to

[1] *Ib.* iii. 16.

[2] Ex quatuor istis divinitatis gloria comprobatur (*ib.* iii. 18).

[3] *Ib.* iii. *ad fin.* quomodo detrahes eum qui alta scrutatur Dei? (the O. L. rendering of 1 Cor. ii. 10).

Part II. viii.

the Latin Church by opening up to the West their stores of Scriptural teaching. One note is struck by him more distinctly than by any of the Greek writers with the exception of Didymus and Epiphanius[1]. The Holy Spirit, Ambrose distinctly says, "proceeds forth from the Son" (procedit ex filio), or "from the Father and the Son" (a patre et filio)[2]; the Son is "the fountain of the Holy Spirit[3]." But it is not clear that in these passages a distinction is made between procession and mission, or that Ambrose would have been prepared to go beyond the Greek view that in the eternal life of God the Divine Essence passed through the Son into the Spirit, and in this sense was received by the Spirit from the Son[4]. If so, we may be tempted to wish that he had limited himself to the cautious phrase of Basil, "from the Father through the Son," which in one place he adopts[5]; yet in that case the Church might have lost an aspect of the truth which was perhaps suggested to Ambrose's great disciple, Augustine, by the cruder "from the Father and the Son."

Augustine of Hippo.

The baptized life of Augustine began in 387, six years after the triumph of the Nicene faith at Constantinople, and a year after the defeat by Ambrose of an Imperial attempt to reintroduce Arianism into Milan. Catholicism was now securely established as

[1] See pp. 224 f., 226 f.

[2] *De Sp. S.* i. 11.

[3] *Ib.* 15.

[4] See *Comm. in S. Luc.* viii. 66 (Migne, *P. L.* xv. 1785).

[5] *De Sp. S.* ii. 12.

the religion of the Empire both in East and West, and Augustine was seldom called to deal with Arian misbelief. He had no occasion, as Ambrose had had, to defend the Godhead of the Son or of the Spirit; on these vital points there was general agreement, and the time had come to build on the Nicene foundations a theology which would appeal to the thought of the Latin West. To this task Augustine addressed himself almost from the first, and it is possible to trace in his extant writings the progress which he made towards its accomplishment.

In a letter[1] written while he was yet a layman, a year or two after his baptism, Augustine shews that his mind is already exercised by the problems arising out of the mystery of the Holy Trinity. Granting that the Three Persons are one in essence and in operation—he asks how the Incarnation can be limited to the Person of the Son. Since the Father does nothing which is not done also by the Son and the Spirit, the Spirit nothing which is not done by the Father and the Son, and the Son nothing which is not done by the Father and the Spirit, it seems to follow that the whole Trinity assumed manhood when it was assumed by the Son. The difficulty is met by admitting that in some sense the Incarnation was the act of the Trinity, although one Person only became incarnate.

In 391 Augustine was admitted to the priesthood, and two years later, while yet a simple presbyter, he delivered before a council of bishops

[1] Aug. *ep.* 11 (Migne, *P. L.* xxxiii. 75).

Part II. viii. *De fide et symbolo.*

a discourse on the Holy Trinity, which has come down to us under the title *On Faith and the Creed*[1]. In this earliest dogmatic work, after a general statement of the doctrine, he proceeds: "There are many books in which learned and devout men have treated of the Father and the Son....But of the Person of the Holy Spirit there has hitherto been no such full and thorough discussion by scholars and great expositors of Holy Scripture as to make it easy to understand His distinctive character (proprium), that by which we are able to say that He is neither Son nor Father, but only Holy Ghost. They affirm only that He is the Gift of God, in such sense that God's Gift is to be believed to be not inferior to God Himself. They add, however, this reservation, that though the Spirit is not said to be generated, as the Son is, from the Father... His being is not underived, but He owes it to the Father, from whom are all things. This is stated in order to guard against the presumption that there are two first principles (principia sine principio)—a most false and absurd notion which is no part of the Catholic faith, but belongs to the erroneous systems of certain heretics. Some, however, have ventured to believe the Holy Spirit to be the communion and (so to speak) the Godhead—what the Greeks call the θεότης—of the Father and the Son. This Godhead, which they would have us regard as the mutual affection and love of Both, is called, as they say, the Holy Spirit; and this opinion

[1] Migne, *P. L.* xl. 181—196.

Part II. viii.

is supported by many scriptural proofs...[1]." "Others oppose this view, maintaining that the communion of the First and Second Persons, whether it be called Godhead or Love, is not a real subsistence (non esse substantiam[2]); and it is in this light that they desire to have the Holy Spirit presented to them. They do not understand that it could not have been said that 'God is Love,' had not Love been such a subsistence....Whether this view is right or some other is to be preferred, the faith must be held inflexibly, that the Father is God, the Son God, and the Holy Ghost God—not a trinity of three Gods, but One God; the Persons not different in nature, but of the same substance; not in such wise that the Father is sometimes Son and sometimes Spirit, but so that the Father is always Father, the Son always Son, the Holy Spirit always Holy Spirit[3]."

Three years later, Augustine, now a Bishop, writes in the opening chapters of his book *On Christian Doctrine*[4]:

De Doctrina Christiana.

"Each Person of the Trinity is God, and all together are One God. Each is the full Essence, and all together are One Essence. The Father is neither the Son nor the Holy Spirit; the Son is

[1] *De fide et symbolo* 18, 19: ausi sunt tamen quidam ipsam communionem patris et filii atque, ut ita dicam, deitatem, quam Graeci θεότητα appellant, spiritum sanctum credere...hanc ergo deitatem, quam etiam dilectionem in se invicem amborum caritatemque volunt intelligi, spiritum sanctum appellatum dicunt.

[2] On *substantia* see Bethune-Baker, *The meaning of Homoousios* (*Texts and Studies*, VII. 1, p. 65 f.).

[3] *Ib.* 20.

[4] Migne, *P. L.* xxxiv. 15—122.

Part II. viii.

neither the Father nor the Holy Spirit; the Holy Spirit is neither the Father nor the Son....The Three have the same eternity, immutability, majesty, power. In the Father is unity, in the Son equality, in the Holy Spirit the harmony of unity and equality. Because of the Father all are one, because of the Son all are equal; because of the Holy Spirit, all are linked together[1]."

Sermones.

Preaching was perhaps the most important duty of the ancient bishop; and no bishop, ancient or modern, ever fulfilled this duty more assiduously than the great Bishop of Hippo. It will be interesting to see how the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, and in particular the question of the relations of the Divine Persons, are handled in Augustine's popular teaching.

In a sermon on the Baptism[2] he meets the difficulty of the separate action of the Three Persons thus: "The Son comes by Himself in the form of man, the Spirit descends by Himself in the form of a dove, the Father's voice comes separately by itself from heaven. Where is the inseparable Trinity?... Look at yourself, consider your own nature. God made man in His own image and likeness. Consider if you have not in yourself some trace of the Divine Trinity: see if there are not in you three faculties which work inseparably, and yet are separately apprehended. The understanding, the memory, the will, are three things in yourself which you can

[1] *De doctr. christ.* i. 5 in spiritu sancto unitatis aequalitatisque concordia...connexa omnia propter spiritum sanctum.

[2] *Serm.* 52 (Migne, *P. L.* xxxviii. 354 ff.).

count and name as separate powers, and yet cannot separate; which are inseparable in their working, although they are separately apprehended and described[1]."

"The Catholic Church (he teaches in another sermon[2]) holds and preaches that God the Holy Spirit is not the Spirit of the Father only or of the Son only, but of the Father and the Son....He is Their common life (communitas). It was therefore Their will to give us communion with one another and with Themselves through that which is common to Them Both; to gather us together in one by this Gift which Both have in common, namely, by the Holy Spirit, who is God and the Gift of God[3]."

Our next extract is from a sermon[4] preached to catechumens at the *traditio symboli*, and as befits the occasion, it is simpler and more direct. "We believe in the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father, yet not Son; abiding on the Son, yet not the Son's father; receiving from the Son, yet not the Son's son; a Holy Spirit who is Himself God. In this

[1] Tria haec sunt in te quae potes numerare et non potes separare. haec ergo tua...memoriam intellectum et voluntatem... haec, inquam, tria animadverte separatim pronuntiari, inseparabiliter operari.

[2] *Serm.* 71.

[3] In spiritu sancto patris filiique communitas...quod ergo commune est patri et filio, per hoc nos voluerunt habere communionem et inter nos et secum, et per illud donum nos colligere in unum quod ambo habent unum, h. e., per spiritum sanctum, Deum et donum Dei.

[4] *Serm.* 214.

Part II. viii.

Trinity there is none greater or less than another[1]; no separation in working, no dissimilarity of substance. The Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are not three Gods but One God; each Person is God, and the Trinity itself is One God. May this faith fill your hearts and prompt your confession." Another sermon to catechumens[2], at the *redditio symboli*, adds: "Let us believe also in the Holy Spirit, for He is God....Through Him we receive remission of sins; through Him we hope for life everlasting."

De Trinitate.

But it is to Augustine's greatest dogmatic work, the fifteen books *On the Trinity*, that we must look for his ripest judgements on all questions connected with this deepest mystery of the faith. The *De Trinitate*[3] occupied the leisure of many years; begun in early life, it was not given to the world till the writer had reached old age[4]; and the work, when finished, had the advantage of being carefully revised by the author[5]. In this consummate treatise the question of the Spirit's relation to the Father and the Son is discussed in more than one context at considerable length, and few of Augustine's doctrinal efforts display more conspicuously his independence and originality. Other theologians, Eastern and Western, had sometimes spoken loosely of a procession of the Third Person from the Second as

[1] Non est aliud alio maius aut minus.

[2] *Serm.* 215.

[3] Migne, *P. L.* xliii. 219—1098.

[4] *Ad Aurelium prolog.* iuvenis inchoavi, senex edidi.

[5] *Retract.* ii. 15 emendavi eos [i.e., libros de Trinitate] quantum emendandos putavi.

well as from the First, or of the Spirit as receiving from the Son the substance of the Godhead. Augustine is the first to ask himself the exact meaning of these phrases, and to formulate in theological language the truth which lies behind them.

He begins[1] by distinguishing procession from mission and defining the relation of the two to each other. A Divine Person can be 'sent' only by the Person from whom He derives His being. Mission rests upon generation in the case of the Son, and upon procession in the case of the Holy Spirit. The fact that the Holy Spirit was sent by the Father is evidence that He proceeds from the Father. Nor can we say that He does not also proceed from the Son, for the statement that He is the Spirit both of the Father and of the Son would then be meaningless; nor is it easy to see what else the Lord could have meant by breathing on His disciples and saying, 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost'; the act was a fitting symbol, intended to shew that the Spirit proceeds not from the Father only but from the Son. Yet the Lord does not say 'Whom the Father will send from me,' but 'Whom I will send from the Father'; for the Father is the Source of the whole Godhead[2]. The Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, and is sent by Both, but He has His origin from the Father." In the next book[3] we read: "There has been much discussion

[1] *De Trin.* iv. 29.

[2] Totius divinitatis (vel, si melius dicitur, deitatis) principium pater est.

[3] v. 15 ff.

Part II. viii.

of the question whether the Father is the Source of the Spirit as well as of the Son (et ad Spiritum sanctum principium); the source, that is, not only relatively to that which He begets or makes, but also to that which He gives....If the gift has its source in Him who gives it, then it must be admitted that the Father and the Son are the Source of the Spirit; not two sources, but, relatively to the Spirit, One Source, as They are One God. A further question arises whether the Spirit's existence (omnino ut sit) begins when He is given, or whether He proceeds evermore, not in time only, but from eternity. Clearly He may be given only in time and relatively to the creature, and yet be co-eternal with the Father and the Son; a gift may exist before it is given. The Spirit is from all eternity the Gift of God, but the gift is given only in time (sempiterne donum, temporaliter donatum)." "The Holy Spirit shares in the unity of substance and the equality of the Father and the Son. Whether you regard the Spirit as the Unity or the Holiness or the Love of Both, or as Unity because He is Love and Love because He is Holiness...He is Something which is common to Father and Son, whatever it is. But Their common life (communio) must itself be consubstantial and co-eternal with Them....Thus there are Three Persons in God and no more: One who loves Him who is from Himself; One who loves Him from whom He is; and Their mutual Love[1]."

In the ninth book of the *De Trinitate* Augustine

[1] *De Trin.* vi. 7.

returns[1] to the analogy of human nature which, as we have seen, he had already outlined in an early sermon. "The Supreme Trinity, which we call God, is reflected in each human being. I love myself, I am loved by myself; and there is, thirdly, the love by which I love, and am loved. Or to put it differently, the trinity in our nature consists of the mind, which loves; the knowledge without which there can be no love, and the love which rests on knowledge[2]; or, in other words, the memory, the understanding, and the will[3]. There are relations between these three which correspond in their measure to the relations between the Divine Persons. I remember that I have memory, understanding, and will; I understand that I understand, will, and remember; I will to will, to remember, and to understand. These three constitute one life, not three lives; one substance, not three substances[4]. This trinity in man attains its proper end when God Himself is the Object of memory, understanding, and volition or love; then, indeed, it becomes in truth an image of the Divine Three in One[5]."

In the last book the procession of the Spirit from the Son is discussed again, and we receive Augustine's final verdict upon this subject. He begins by reminding us that in the life of the Supreme Trinity, which is God, there are no intervals of time, so that the question cannot arise

[1] *Ib.* ix. 2 ff. [2] Mens, notitia, dilectio.
[3] Memoria, intelligentia, voluntas.
[4] *De Trin.* x. 18. [5] *De Trin.* xiv. 15.

Part II. viii.

whether the generation of the Son precedes or follows the procession of the Spirit[1]. He proceeds timelessly from Both, in the order of the Divine life. "*As the Father hath life in Himself, so,* our Lord teaches, *hath He given to the Son to have life in Himself.* We may carry on this train of thought and say, As the Father has in Himself the power to give procession to the Holy Spirit, so He has given to the Son the same power. Hence, when the Holy Spirit is said to proceed from the Father, it is to be understood that He proceeds also from the Son....The Son is begotten of the Father, and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father as His Source; and by the Father's gift, without any interval of time, proceeds in common from Both[2]." "The Holy Spirit does not proceed first from the Father into the Son, and then from the Son to sanctify the creature, but He proceeds simultaneously from Both; although it is by the Father's gift that He proceeds from the Son also, as from the Father Himself[3]." It will be seen from this wherein lies the special contribution made by Augustine to the doctrine of the Spirit's procession. He points out how the eternal derivation of the Spirit from the Son may be held without any abandonment of the Father's 'monarchy.' The procession of the Spirit from Both has been described as the Double Procession.

[1] *De Trin.* xv. 45.

[2] *Ib.* 47 spiritus sanctus de patre principaliter, et ipso sine ullo temporis intervallo dante, communiter de utroque procedit.

[3] *Ib.* 48. Cf. *Tract. in S. Joann.* 99: *c. Maximin.* ii. 14. 1.

But as Augustine teaches it, it is not double. The Father and the Son are regarded as One Source, and the procession is timeless (sine tempore) and simultaneous (simul). Lastly, to give procession to the Spirit belongs to the Son only by the Father's gift. If the Spirit issues eternally from the Father, this is because the Son by generation is One with the Father, and has whatever the Father has. Thus the Third Person proceeds from the First and the Second Persons by one spiration, and the Western *Filioque*, as Augustine states it, is almost a necessary inference from the Homoousion.

But Augustine's interest in the doctrine of the Holy Spirit was by no means limited to questions connected with His Person or His relation to the other Persons of the Holy Trinity. Even on these subjects he writes as a religious man rather than in the spirit of the controversialist[1]. His deepest sympathies are with the struggles and victories of the spiritual life, and it is in this connexion that he mentions the Holy Spirit most frequently. He sees, more clearly perhaps than any Latin theologian before his time had seen, how entirely the life of the soul depends upon the work of the Spirit of Christ for knowledge, and yet more for love. "As it is said of those who speak in the Spirit, *It is not ye that speak*; so of those who know or see we must say, It is not ye that know, it is not ye that see, but the Spirit in

[1] Harnack surely is too hasty when he writes (*History of Dogma*, iv. p. 130): "The great work of Augustine, *De Trinitate*, can scarcely be said to have promoted piety anywhere or at any time."

Part II. viii.

you. *The love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit which is given unto us*[1]. It is by love that we are conformed to God, and this is due to the Holy Spirit. But in no way could we be restored by the Holy Spirit, unless He Himself remained unimpaired and unchangeable; and this He could not be unless He were of the Divine nature and substance[2]." "That the child who is presented for Baptism can be regenerated by the action of another's will, is the work of the Holy Spirit. We do not read, Except a man be born again of his parents' will, or of the faith of his sponsors; but, *Except a man be born of water and the Spirit.* The water is the outward sign of the sacrament of grace; the Spirit works inwardly the benefits which grace confers, loosing the bonds of guilt, restoring goodness of nature; and hereby the child of Adam is born anew in Christ. Once regenerate, the child cannot be born again after his parents' flesh; the entail is broken, and cannot be contracted anew. The little one does not lose the grace of Christ, which has once been received, unless by his own impiety, if he proves to be an evil liver after reaching years of discretion[3]." "As a man could not have wisdom, understanding, counsel, courage, knowledge, godliness, and the fear of God, unless he had received the Spirit of wisdom, understanding, counsel, courage, knowledge, godliness, and the fear of God; as he

[1] *Confess.* xiii. 30 f.

[2] *De mor. eccl. Cath.* 13 (Migne, *P. L.* xxxii. 1321).

[3] *Ep.* 98.

could not possess power, love, or a sound mind, unless he had received the Spirit of power, love, and a sound mind; so he cannot have faith, without receiving the Spirit of faith. Similarly, we cannot pray aright without the Spirit of prayer. Not that there are as many Spirits as there are virtues and gifts; but *all these worketh the one and the selfsame Spirit*....What then of human merit before grace, or by which grace is earned, when all that is good in us is the work of grace alone[1]?" "The Holy Spirit is in the man who confesses his sins; he who is angry with himself, and displeased with himself, is not without a gift of the Spirit[2]." "Restless souls, that love strife and sow false reports, and are bent on holding their own rather than on truth, break away from the Spirit. There is no real or Divine sanctification except from the Holy Spirit[3]." "The first gift of the Spirit is the remission of sins in regeneration. Against this free gift, this act of grace on the part of God, the impenitent heart rebels. Impenitence is itself blasphemy against the Holy Ghost. Yet we cannot sit in judgement on this impenitence so long as the man lives; we should despair of no man so long as the goodness of God still leads him to repentance. The pagan, heretic, schismatic of to-day may, for all we know, be the Christian of to-morrow. It is final impenitence only which condemns[4]." "Is the Holy

[1] *Ep.* 294.
[2] *Enarr. in Ps.* l.=li. (Migne, *P. L.* xxxvi. 585 ff.).
[3] *Serm.* 8.
[4] *Serm.* 71.

Part II. viii.

Spirit not given in these days? The man who thinks so is unworthy to receive Him. Let no one say, If I have received the Spirit, why do I not speak with tongues?...The human spirit vitalizes all the members of the body; sees through the eyes, smells through the nostrils, speaks by the tongue, works by the hands, walks by the feet. So is it with the Church of God. In some of the saints the Spirit works miracles, in others He speaks the truth; in some He lives the celibate life, in others He preserves conjugal modesty; each fulfils his own proper work, but all are equally alive. What the soul is to the human body, such is the Holy Spirit to the Body of Christ[1]." "A well instructed catechumen would not be disturbed by the great number of people in whom he failed to find the things which he was bidden to observe, but who yet flocked with him to Church and received the same Sacraments. He would know that...few have part in holiness of life and the gift of love which is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit, that inward spring to which no stranger can approach; whereas many have part in the Holy Sacrament, which he who eats and drinks unworthily eats and drinks judgement to himself[2]." "The Holy Spirit makes us to abide in God, and God in us, for this is the effect of love. He is Himself the Love of God, and when He is given to a man He kindles in him the fire of love towards God and towards his neighbour. There

[1] *Serm.* 267.

[2] *C. Faustum*, xiii. 16 (Migne, *P. L.* xlii. 291).

is no gift that can surpass this gift of God; it alone separates between the children of the eternal Kingdom and those of eternal perdition. There are other endowments which are given through the Holy Spirit, but without love they are of no avail; unless the Holy Spirit is imparted to each of us in such wise as to make him love God and his neighbour, he is not transferred from the left hand to the right....The love, then, which is of God and is God, is, to speak precisely, the Holy Spirit, through whom the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts...that Love through which the whole Trinity dwells in us[1]." "*Ye have your fruit unto holiness.* This fruit,... which is doubtless love and the works of love, we cannot by any means have of ourselves; but we have it through the Holy Spirit which is given to us. It was of this fruit that our Divine Master spoke when He said of the branches that abide in Him, *Without me ye can do nothing*[2]. This is the hidden, dreadful, poison that your heresy (Pelagianism) infuses; you would make the grace of Christ consist in His example and not in His life, saying that men are made righteous by imitating Him, not by the supply of the Holy Spirit which leads them to imitate Him—the Spirit which He poured abundantly upon His own[3]."

This last passage reveals the secret of Augustine's unremitting opposition to Pelagianism. It

[1] *De Trin.* xv. 31 ff.

[2] *Opus imperf. c. Iulianum* i. 86 (Migne, *P. L.* xliv. 1105).

[3] *Ib.* ii. 146.

Part II. viii.

minimized the work of the Holy Spirit, teaching men to seek in themselves the power which could be found only in the supernatural strength of God the Holy Spirit. If Divine Grace were not needed for the imitation of Christ, then the Holy Spirit had come in vain. It may be thought that in his almost passionate desire to maintain the sovereignty of Grace he allowed too little scope for the exercise of the human will; and that there was room for the corrective which the so-called Semipelagianism of South Gaul endeavoured to supply. Yet the whole Church owes a deep debt to Augustine for his insistence on the inability of the human will to choose that which is good without the cooperating power of the Spirit of God and of Christ.

IX.

FROM LEO THE GREAT TO GREGORY THE GREAT.

When Augustine laid down his pen, Leo was now in middle life, and had already made himself a name as Archdeacon of the Roman Church[1]. After his elevation to the papal chair, circumstances led him to turn his attention chiefly to the doctrine of the Incarnation; but among his sermons there is a series for the season of Pentecost[2] which shews how he handled the doctrine of the Holy Spirit as a subject of ordinary Christian teaching.

"In the Divine Trinity (Leo preaches) there is no dissimilarity nor inequality. Although in regard to personal distinctions the Father is one, the Son another, and the Holy Ghost again another, there is nevertheless no second Godhead and no difference of nature. The Holy Spirit is the Spirit of the Father and of the Son, not as being the creature of the Father and the Son, but as deriving His eternal subsistence from That which is Father and Son[3]....

[1] John Cassian, writing about the year 431, calls Leo "Romanae ecclesiae ac divini ministerii decus" (*De incarn.*, praef.).

[2] Migne, *P. L.* liv. 400 ff.

[3] Sempiterne ex eo quod est pater filiusque subsistens (*Serm.* 75).

Part II. ix.

Whatever conception devout hearts may form of the eternal and unchangeable glory of the Father, let them think the same of the Son and of the Holy Spirit without separation or difference[1]." "No Person in the Trinity was before, and none can be after, another. Such as the Father is, such is the Son, and such is also the Holy Spirit[2]."

The Pentecostal effusion was "not the first gift of the Holy Spirit, but an increased bounty; for the patriarchs, prophets, and priests, and all the saints who lived in olden days, were quickened by the sanctifying power of the same Spirit, and without this grace no sacraments were ever instituted or mysteries celebrated. So that this same Power was ever conferring spiritual gifts, though they were not given in the same measure[3]." "Without detriment to the inseparable cooperation of the Persons of the Godhead, it may be held that certain acts are performed by each Person in particular. Thus it belongs to the Father to be propitiated, to the Son to propitiate, to the Holy Spirit to set men on fire of love[4]."

A letter addressed by Leo to Turribius, Bishop of Asturia in Spain, in the course of an attack on the Priscillianists, incidentally affirms Augustine's doctrine of the Procession. "They impiously assert that Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are one Person, as if the same God were at one time Father, at another Son, and at another Holy Spirit, and there

[1] *Serm.* 75.
[2] *Serm.* 76.
[3] *Serm.* 76.
[4] *Serm.* 77.

were not One who begets, Another who is begotten, and Another who proceeded from Both (qui de utroque processerit)[1]." Part II. ix.

But while Leo did not scruple to give the weight of his authority to the Western view of the procession, which he probably regarded as a necessary corollary to the Catholic doctrine of the Holy Trinity, there is nothing to shew that he devoted any careful thought to the matter. It was not at Rome but in North Africa, Gaul, and Spain that Augustine's teaching on the subject was first taken up and worked into the theology of the West. In a number of African and Gallican treatises we find the *Filioque* accepted without hesitation long before it had received symbolical recognition. Thus about the middle of the fifth century Eucherius of Lyons (†454) writes: "The Holy Spirit is neither generate nor ingenerate, but rather is He who proceeds from the Father and the Son, as a harmony, we may say, of Both" (velut quaedam patris filiique concordia)[2]. In a sermon attributed to Faustus of Riez (†485) it is assumed as beyond dispute that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son as from the Father. Gennadius of Marseilles (†495) says: "We believe that there is One God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; Father, in that He has a Son; Son, in that He has a Father; Holy Spirit, in that He proceeds from the Father and the Son (ex patre et filio)[3]."

(*a*) Gaul.

Eucherius of Lyons.

Faustus of Riez.

Gennadius of Marseilles.

[1] *Ep.* 15.

[2] The sermon is printed by Mai, *Spic. Rom.* v. 93.

[3] *De eccl. dogm.* ad init. (Migne, *P. L.* lviii. 980).

Part II. ix.

The Holy Spirit is neither begotten, since He is not Son, nor made, since He is not from nothing (ex nihilo); but He is God, proceeding from (ex) God the Father and God the Son[1]. Julianus Pomerius, a presbyter of Arles († 498), gives a place to the *Filioque* among the doctrines which are to be taught to the laity: "the faithful committed to our charge ought to be taught concerning the Holy Spirit that He proceeds from the Father and the Son, and therefore cannot be said to be either generate or ingenerate[2]." Avitus of Vienne († 523) is still more explicit: writing against the Arianism of the Gothic king Gundobad, he says: "We for our part affirm that the Holy Spirit proceeds from (a) the Father and the Son...it is the property of the Holy Spirit to proceed from the Father and the Son."

Julianus Pomerius of Arles.

Avitus of Vienne.

The same unhesitating acceptance of the procession from the Son may be observed in some North African writers of the fifth and sixth centuries. Thus Vigilius of Thapsus († 520) teaches: "It is the property of the Father to beget, of the Son to have been begotten, and of the Holy Spirit to proceed[3]." But Fulgentius of Ruspe († 526) repeatedly urges the *Filioque*, and with absolute assurance. "Believe most firmly (he writes), and never doubt, that the same Holy Spirit, the One Spirit of the Father and the Son, proceeds from (de) the Father and the Son. That He proceeds also from the Son is supported by

(*b*) North Africa.

Vigilius of Thapsus.

Fulgentius of Ruspe.

[1] *De eccl. dogm.* ad init. (Migne, *P. L.* lviii. 980).

[2] *De vita contempl.* (Migne, *P. L.* lix. 432).

[3] *C. Eutych.* i. 10 (Migne, *P. L.* lxii. 101).

the teaching both of Prophets and Apostles[1]." "The Father is begotten of none; the Son is begotten of the Father; the Holy Spirit proceeds from (a) the Father and the Son[2]." That in such passages Fulgentius is not merely repeating a formula without considering its context, seems to be clear from the following passage, where he gives reasons for his belief: "The Holy Spirit is wholly the Father's and wholly the Son's, because He is by nature the one Spirit of the Father and the Son; for which cause He proceeds wholly from (de) the Father and the Son, and abides wholly in the Father and the Son; for He so abides as to proceed, and so proceeds as to abide[3]." Part II. ix.

(c) Spain.

In Spain Catholic theology was matured under conditions which imposed upon it a militant character, and it was in Spain, accordingly, that the latest accession to Catholic doctrine, as the West conceived it, was pressed with the greatest zeal. The Spanish Church was menaced by two opposite dangers; on the one hand the revival of the Sabellian 'confusion' of the Persons which was one of the charges laid against Priscillian and his party[4]; on the other, the dominant Arianism of the Visigothic kingdom. A succession of local synods dealt with these

Spanish synods.

[1] *De fide* 11 (Migne, *P. L.* lxv. 695).

[2] *De Trin.* 2 (Migne, 499).

[3] *Ep.* 14 (Migne, 418).

[4] The treatises printed by Schepss in 1889 appear to support this charge: cf. *tract.* ii. (p. 37) unus deus trina potestate venerabilis...Christus est; *bened. supra pop.* (p. 103) unus deus...invisibilis in patre, visibilis in filio, et unitus in opus duorum sanctus spiritus.

Part II. ix.

heresies, and it is in the dogmatic decisions of these Spanish councils that the *Filioque* first appears in a symbolical form. Thus a synod of Toledo, held in the first half of the fifth century, professes "We believe in One God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit...and that the Spirit is the Paraclete who is neither the Father nor the Son, but proceeds from the Father and the Son[1]." In the next century the synod of Braga (563) reaffirmed the creed and anathemas of the Toletan synod, adding fresh anathemas against the Priscillianist 'confusion'[2]. But it was the third council of Toledo, held in 589[3], that gave the Spanish Church the doubtful honour of being the first Church in Christendom to add the *Filioque* to the Catholic faith. On this occasion the Visigothic king Reccared, under the influence of Leander of Seville, made his submission to the Church. A personal confession made by Reccared shews that he had been instructed in the Augustinian doctrine of the Procession. "The Holy Spirit," it says, "is both confessed and preached as proceeding from the Father and from the Son[4]." The Council confirmed this doctrine for its own part by the usual method of pronouncing an anathema against any who refused to accept it. It did more, for it recited the Constantinopolitan creed in a Latin version

[1] Hahn-Harnack, p. 209 f.

[2] *Ib.* p. 230.

[3] See Mansi, *Conc.* ix. p. 978 ff.

[4] Hahn-Harnack, p. 232 spiritus aeque sanctus confitendus a nobis et praedicandus est a patre et a filio procedere.

which seems to have contained the words *ex patre et filio procedentem.* Nor was this all. It was ordered that this creed, doubtless in the same form, be said henceforth at Mass throughout Visigothic Spain[1]. There is no reason to suspect the Toletan fathers of having consciously added the words *et filio*; they had probably found their way into the Spanish versions of the creed before it came into their hands. When once the formula 'proceeding from the Father and the Son' had taken a permanent place in Western Catholic literature and in private or synodical confessions, it was inevitable that the new words should slip unnoticed into Latin versions of the Catholic Creed. The interpolation cannot be securely dated, though for the sake of convenience it may be connected with the year of the Council in whose records it first appears[2].

The Council of 589 was followed in the next century by a long succession of Toletan councils, many of which emphasized the *Filioque.* Thus the synod of 628 (Toledo vi), in words closely akin to the *Quicumque vult*, declared that "the Holy Spirit is neither begotten nor created, but proceeding from the Father and the Son[3]." Some later synods are

[1] Per omnes ecclesias Hispaniae vel Gallaeciae.

[2] For a fuller account of the Council of 589 see *Hist. of the Procession*, p. 168 ff.

[3] Neque genitum neque creatum, sed de patre filioque procedentem. Cf. *Quicumque*, 22 a patre et filio, non factus nec creatus nec genitus, sed procedens.

Part II. ix.

clearly influenced by the phraseology of Augustine; thus Toledo xi (675) speaks of the Spirit as proceeding simultaneously from Both, inasmuch as He is acknowledged to be the Sanctity or Love of Both; Toledo xiv (688) describes Him as "Will proceeding from Mind and Word." Doubtless these Spanish synods represent the views of the contemporary leaders of the Spanish Church. One example of contemporary Spanish Catholicism may

Isidore.

be quoted. Isidore, who succeeded Leander at Seville about the year 600 and held the see until his death in 636, writes: "The Holy Spirit is called God because He proceeds from the Father and the Son and has Their Essence....There is, however, this difference between the generation of the Son and the procession of the Spirit, that the Son is begotten of One, but the Spirit proceeds from Both[1]." From Isidore's point of view this procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son is proof of the essential unity of the Father and the Son, for, as he says, "One thing which is consubstantial with two could not at once proceed from them and be in them, unless the two from which it proceeds were one." He adds that it is the Holy Spirit that makes the First and Second Persons one; through the Spirit, the Father and the Son are one in Essence; the Spirit is the Bond of Their Unity[2].

[1] *Etymol.* vii. 3 (Migne, *P. L.* lxxxii. 268).

[2] *Sentent.* i. 15 (Migne, *P. L.* lxxxiii. 568). Cf. the profession made by the 16th Council of Toledo (688), cited in *Hist. of the Procession*, p. 175.

Thus it was in Spain, as the result of the long struggle of the Spanish Church with Sabellian and Arian heresy, that the Augustinian doctrine of the Procession took its place among the essentials of Western theology. To men like Leander and Isidore and the Bishops they led, the *Filioque* seemed to be a necessary supplement and safeguard to the Catholic doctrine of the Holy Trinity. Part II. ix.

(*d*) Rome.

The Roman Church, meanwhile, notwithstanding the apparent acceptance by Leo of Augustine's doctrine, gave little official encouragement to this developement of the Nicene faith. Individuals held and taught it without reproof, but also, so far as appears, without authority. Thus the Roman deacon Paschasius (†512) in a treatise on the Holy Spirit writes: "The Spirit is said to be sent by the Father and the Son, and to proceed from Their substance.... If you ask what distinction is to be drawn between generation and procession, there is clearly this difference, that the Son is begotten of One, but the Spirit proceeds from Both[1]." The great layman Cassiodorius (*c.* 570) speaks of the Church as teaching that "the Father is unbegotten, the Son begotten, and the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father and the Son[2]." But it was doubtless the name of Pope Gregory (†604) which secured the final adhesion of the Latin Church to Augustine's doctrine of the Procession. It has been said with truth that Gregory, although counted a doctor of

Paschasius.

Cassiodorius.

Gregory the Great.

[1] *De Spiritu Sancto* i. 12 (Migne, *P. L.* lxii. 23 f.).

[2] *In Psalmos* praef. 17 (Migne, *P. L.* lxx. 23).

Part II. ix.

the Latin Church, was not, in the strict sense of the term, a theologian[1]; such theological knowledge as he possessed was largely due to Augustine, to whom he stood much in the relation that Cyprian bore to Tertullian[2]. Apart from Augustine's influence, Gregory would probably have been content to teach that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and receives from that which is the Son's; and both of these expressions, which are the common property of East and West, are to be found in his writings[3]. But he uses also, and quite freely, the exclusively Western phrase. He speaks of the procession by which the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son[4]. "Our Lord," he says, "shews how the Spirit of Both so proceeds as to be co-eternal with Both." "He who is produced by procession is not posterior in time to those by whom He is put forth (a proferentibus non praeitur)[5]." "The Spirit proceeds essentially from the Son"; "the Redeemer imparted to the hearts of His disciples the Spirit who proceeds from Himself[6]"; "the Paraclete ever proceeds from the Father and the Son[7]." This is less explicit than the statements that came nearly at the same time from Spain, and from Gaul a century earlier; but a word from Gregory weighed

[1] Dudden, *Gregory the Great*, p. 289.

[2] *Ib.* p. 293 f.

[3] E.g. *Mor.* v. 65, xxvii. 34 (Migne, *P. L.* lxxv. 715, lxxvi. 419).

[4] *Hom. in evv.* 26 (Migne, *P. L.* lxxvi. 1198).

[5] *Mor.* xxv. 4.

[6] *Mor.* ii. 92, i. 22.

[7] The Greek version gives this as ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς προέρχεται καὶ ἐν τῷ υἱῷ διαμένει.

with succeeding generations more than the repeated utterance of Spanish councils and Gallican writers[1]. Nevertheless it was long before the *Filioque* found its way into the Roman version of the Constantinopolitan creed. In the creed of the Gelasian Sacramentary both Greek and Latin texts strictly follow the Constantinopolitan form[2]. As late as the time of Charlemagne, Leo III, while he accepted the doctrine of the *Filioque*, set up in St Peter's copies of the creed both in Greek and in Latin without the interpolation. It was probably not until after the final rupture with Constantinople that Rome accepted the Spanish addition to the Eastern creed. Part II. ix.

It must not be supposed that Western teachers, in their zeal for the Augustinian doctrine of the Procession, overlooked the work of the Holy Spirit as Paraclete and Sanctifier of the Church. Gregory, for example, insists on the practical no less than on the dogmatic side of Augustine's pneumatology. The Spirit, he teaches, is the Love of God, who inspires with the love both of God and of man the souls which He inhabits; He is the Illuminator who lights up the human mind with the knowledge of God and of Christ; it is His grace which regenerates and renews. "One loves," he writes, "to lift the eye of faith to the height of the Divine Worker, as it is

[1] On Pope Martin (†655) see above, p. 279.

[2] See H. A. Wilson, *Gelasian Sacramentary*, p. 34 f. The Vatican MS. of the Sacramentary is assigned to the seventh, or early part of the eighth, century (*ib.* p. xxv).

Part II. ix.

seen in the fathers of the Old and New Testaments....I gaze at David, Amos, Daniel, Peter, Paul, Matthew, and try to discern in them how great an artist the Holy Spirit is; but the study is beyond my powers....The Spirit fills the fisherman, and makes him a preacher: He fills the persecutor, and converts him into the teacher of the Gentile world; He fills the publican, and the publican becomes the evangelist....Men are drawn to whatever the Spirit wills. They have no need to learn their new calling; as soon as He touches the mind, He teaches it. The mind of man is changed immediately as it falls under His enlightenment; at once it renounces that which it was and shews itself that which it was not[1]."

Western Creeds.

It is unnecessary to push this enquiry, so far as the Western Church is concerned, beyond the time of Gregory. After Gregory the Middle Age begins to close down upon the West, and scholastic theology gradually takes the place of the patristic type. But before we end this enquiry it may be well to touch briefly on the marks which the developement of this doctrine of the Holy Spirit has left upon the faith and worship of the Latin Church in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries.

The West is at one with the East in admitting into its new symbolical documents professions of faith in the Godhead and the Procession of the Spirit, only adding to the latter in many cases the

[1] *Hom. in evv.* xxx. 8. A good summary of Gregory's practical teaching on this subject will be found in Dudden, *op. cit.* p. 349 ff.

characteristic *Filioque*. The movement begins with Pope Damasus, whose creed confesses the Holy Spirit to be "neither made nor created, but of the substance of the Godhead[1]." Phoebadius of Agen († after 393) has the words "not created nor made, but of the Father and the Son; ever in the Father and the Son, and co-eternal with them." Of the later Spanish confessions in which the *Filioque* assumes a yet more prominent place, mention has been made already. The *Quicumque vult*, whether of Gallican or Spanish[2] origin, is in fact, so far as it deals with the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, a remarkable *résumé* of the best Catholic teaching both of East and West; even its *et filio* is so placed as to avoid the appearance of adding directly to the Catholic formula *ex patre procedens*[3]. It would be instructive, if space allowed, to work out in detail the treatment of the *Filioque* in the symbolical documents of the Western Church from Augustine to Gregory[4].

Western Hymns.

Hymn-writing, hitherto almost limited to the Eastern Church, in the fourth century was naturalized in the Latin West through the efforts of Hilary and

[1] Hahn-Harnack, p. 272 neque facturam neque creaturam, sed de substantia deitatis.

[2] See Dom Morin's articles in *J. T. S.* xii. pp. 161, 337.

[3] Verse 22 runs: spiritus sanctus a patre et filio, non factus nec creatus nec genitus sed procedens.

[4] Materials can be found (e.g.) in Migne and Mansi, and in Swainson's *Nicene and Apostles' Creeds*, where many such forms are printed.

Part II. ix.

Ambrose. As might be expected, the Nicene doctrine of the Homoousion is prominent in the early Western Catholic hymns, so far as they survive. The hymn which the Bangor Antiphonary[1] attributes to Hilary speaks of the Spirit as the Bond of the Trinity, and ends with the doxology,

> "Glory to the Father unbegotten,
> Glory to the sole-begotten Son,
> With the Holy Ghost,
> To everlasting ages."

The few hymns which have a good claim to be regarded as the work of Ambrose are rarely without some tribute to the Deity of the Spirit. Prudentius invariably ends his hymns with a trine doxology, and this practice became almost universal in Latin hymnody. Hymns directly addressed to the Third Person of the Holy Trinity are comparatively rare, but the ninth or tenth century hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus*[2] survives among us as a monument of the devotion of the ancient Church to the Holy Ghost; though a work of the Carlovingian age, it gathers up the best teaching of the patristic period in words which still express the deepest desires of all Christian hearts.

Sacramentaries.

The so-called Leonian, Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries have reached us in MSS. of the

[1] i. f. 4 verso; cf. ii. p. 36 ff.

[2] On the age and authorship of this hymn see the article in Julian's *Dict. of Hymnology* (ed. 2), p. 1206 ff.; Dr Frere (*Intr. to Hymns A. and M.*, p. 22) assigns it with some confidence to Rabanus Maurus (†856).

seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries[1], and cannot be quoted with any confidence as evidence of the liturgical practice of the Roman Church in earlier times. Our authorities for the Gallican rite suffer from the same disadvantage. Nevertheless, these documents doubtless contain a large amount of material which is earlier than the date of the MSS.; and even forms which belong to the time of Charlemagne may often reflect the doctrine of the pre-Gregorian Church. A few specimens of Whitsuntide devotions from these sources will fitly close our summary of Western teaching. The Leonian Sacramentary has the following prayers for Pentecost: "O Lord, hear our prayers, and as Thou didst scatter the darkness of the heathen world by the light of Thy Holy Spirit, so now vanquish the enemies of the Roman name and the foes of the Catholic faith." "May the Holy Spirit prepare our minds for the Divine mysteries." "Lord, we pray Thee that the power of the Holy Spirit may be with us both mercifully to cleanse our hearts, and to defend us from all our adversaries[2]." In the Gelasian Sacramentary among many Pentecostal petitions we find the following: "Let the Paraclete who proceeds from Thee, O Lord, illuminate our

[1] For some account of these books see Duchesne, *Christian Worship* (3rd English edition), p. 119 ff.

[2] C. L. Feltoe, *Sacramentarium Leonianum*, p. 27. Dr Feltoe suggests that the reference in the first of these prayers to heretical enemies of Rome points to "the invasion perpetrated by the Arian Vandals about Whitsuntide 455 A.D." (*ib.* p. 181).

Part II. ix.

minds, and lead us, as Thy Son has promised, into all the truth." "O God, who in the fervour of the fire of Thy love didst deign to send the Holy Spirit the Paraclete: grant to Thy people to be so fervent in the unity of the faith, that evermore abiding in Thy love they may be found both steadfast in the faith and effective in their work." "Almighty and everlasting God, lead us to the fellowship of heavenly joys, that they who have been born again by the Holy Spirit, may be made to enter Thy kingdom, and the lowly flock may attain whither their exalted Shepherd has gone before[1]." The Gregorian Sacramentary has the noble Collect for purity which stands at the beginning of the English Order for Holy Communion[2]. Among Gallican collects we find the prayers: "Lord Christ, on this most famous day when Thou didst enrich Thine Apostles with the Holy Spirit's gifts of grace, prostrate in lowly prayer we supplicate Thee, the Giver of the Holy Ghost." "O Lord, let Thy Holy Spirit, who came as fire upon the Apostles, distributing to them His gifts, come also of Thy bounty upon our infirmity, blot out our sins, and bestow on us the gift of godliness[3]." A Gallican *contestatio* thus confesses in the language of devotion the Catholic doctrine of the Spirit, as it presented itself to Western minds: "It is meet and right...that we should give Thee thanks, Almighty, everlasting God, Father, Only begotten,

[1] H. A. Wilson, *Gelasian Sacramentary*, p. 124.

[2] Muratori, *Liturgia Romana vetus*, ii. p. 90.

[3] *Missale Vesontionense*, ed. G. H. Forbes, p. 288 f.

Holy Spirit, existing by mystic procession from Father and Son, one and the same... co-eternal Essence and unbroken Harmony of three consubstantial Persons in one Holy Trinity[1]." Part II. ix.

So it is that the theological studies of one age contribute to the devotions of the next, and even the din and confusion of religious controversy are made to serve the sanctuary and supply food for contemplation and prayer.

[1] Mone, *Lat. u. Griech. Messe*, p. 19. I read *essentia* for *essent.*

καὶ ταῦτα μὲν εἰς τοσοῦτον. σοὶ δὲ εἰ μὲν ἀρκούντως ἔχει τὰ εἰρημένα, τοῦτο πέρας ἔστω τοῦ περὶ τούτων λόγου· εἰ δὲ ἐλλιπῶς ἔχειν δόξει, φθόνος οὐδεὶς φιλοπόνως προσεδρεύοντα τῇ ζητήσει δι' ἐρωτήσεως ἀφιλονείκου προστιθέναι τῇ γνώσει. δώσει γὰρ ὁ κύριος ἢ δι' ἡμῶν ἢ δι' ἑτέρων τῶν λειπόντων τὴν πλήρωσιν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιχορηγουμένην τοῖς ἀξίοις αὐτοῦ γνῶσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος.

BASIL.

PART III.

SUMMARY OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE HOLY SPIRIT IN THE ANCIENT CHURCH.

I. The Godhead of the Spirit.

II. The Holy Spirit's relation to the Father and the Son, and His function in the Life of God.

III. The personal life of the Spirit.

IV. The work of the Spirit in Creation.

V. The work of the Spirit in Inspiration.

VI. The work of the Spirit in the Incarnation and the Incarnate Son.

VII. The Mission of the Paraclete.

VIII. The work of the Spirit in the Sacraments.

IX. The work of the Spirit in the Sanctification of life.

I.

THE GODHEAD OF THE SPIRIT.

THE post-Apostolic Church followed Apostolic precedent in associating the Holy Spirit with the Father and the Son. From the end of the second century Christian writers began to speak of a Trinity (τριάς, *trinitas*)[1]; early baptismal creeds professed faith in Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and early doxologies and hymns glorified the Spirit with the Father and the Son[2]. It was seen that the Spirit belonged to the sphere of the Divine, in so far that He could be the object of faith and adoration. Yet no early creed or hymn called Him God, and no Christian writer before the third century, with one partial exception[3], sought to investigate the relation of the Spirit to the Father and the Son. It was understood that He is third in the order of the Trinity, and in some undefined way subordinate to the Son, who is second[4]; outside the Catholic Church there were those who spoke of Him as the Minister of

[1] Pp. 47, 106.
[2] P. 151 ff.; cf. 231 ff.
[3] Cf. p. 42 ff.
[4] P. 37.

Part III. i.

the Son[1]. Some writers of the second century manifest a tendency to confuse the Spirit with the Son[2], and on the whole His place in the Divine Life was so little emphasized that Catholic Christians were attacked by the earlier Monarchians as ditheists, and not as tritheists[3]. The Montanist Tertullian is the first to recognize explicitly a Trinity of Divine Persons[4] in which the Holy Spirit is the *tertium nomen divinitatis*[5], and to endeavour to set forth the relation of the Persons to each other in the terms of a scientific theology. Tertullian, however, was in advance of his age, and his attempt does not appear to have found favour either with Monarchians or with Catholics. Monarchianism replied by formulating the doctrine of an economic trinity[6] in which the Persons (πρόσωπα) are represented as merely successive manifestations of Deity. On the Catholic side Origen, while accepting the traditional teaching of the Church, raised more than one question about the Holy Spirit which shewed how much remained to be determined[7]. Does the Third Person as well as the Second bear to the First the relation of Son? Has the Holy Spirit this in common with the creatures of God that He also received His subsistence through the Son, by whom all things were made?

The second of these questions received opposite

[1] Pp. 41, 54.
[2] Pp. 28 f., 33, 38 f.
[3] P. 99.
[4] P. 103 ff.
[5] Tert. *adv. Prax.* 30.
[6] P. 99 ff.
[7] P. 127 ff.

answers in the next century. Arianism, in its extreme recoil from Sabellianism, transformed the Persons of the Trinity into three infinitely dissimilar essences (*οὐσίαι ἀνόμοιοι ἐπ' ἄπειρον*). This doctrine was enunciated by Arius at the outset, but the inferiority of the Holy Spirit to the Son was not pressed on the Arian side, nor was it explicitly repudiated by the Church either at Nicaea or for more than a quarter of a century after the Nicene Council[1]. The Arian party meanwhile was content to dwell in its many confessions of faith on the work of the Paraclete, abstaining from any reference to His nature and Person[2]. When in 359 the mask was thrown off by the Egyptian Semiarians, Athanasius was ready with a refutation of their position that the Holy Spirit is a 'creature' and 'one of the ministering spirits[3].' In the decade that followed the controversy became general, and fresh champions of the Catholic belief arose both in East and West. The Godhead of the Spirit, which had always been implicit in the teaching of the Church, was now asserted in formal terms, and defended by a profusion of arguments drawn from Scripture and the earlier teaching of the Church, as well as on more general grounds.

Yet in dealing with the Person of the Holy Spirit, on which Holy Scripture had spoken less explicitly than on the Person of the Son, the Church proceeded with the greatest caution. No attempt

[1] P. 164 ff.

[2] Pp. 166 ff., 286.

[3] Pp. 171 f., 214 ff.

Part III. i.

was made at Constantinople to define the Godhead of the Third Person in terms analogous to those adopted by the Nicene fathers in reference to the Son. No document proceeding from the Council declared the Spirit to be 'very God,' or 'of one substance with the Father[1].' The circumstances were different, and demanded a different procedure. Neither the New Testament nor the primitive Church had called the Holy Spirit God; even in the Church of the fourth century there were not a few devout men, of whom Cyril of Jerusalem is the most obvious representative, who hesitated to go beyond what was written[2], while 'conservatives,' such as Eusebius of Caesarea, pressed the subordinationism suggested by Origen's theory of the Spirit's genesis[3]. Hence the creed which afterwards passed as Constantinopolitan, and does in fact express the attitude of the Second Council, affirms only that the Holy Spirit is the Lord, and Giver of Life, and with the Father and the Son is to be worshipped and glorified. This was in effect to affirm His consubstantiality with the Father and the Son, as both sides clearly saw; but it gave the enemy no occasion to accuse the Church of imposing on believers terms unknown to Scripture or to primitive tradition[4].

The local synods, on the other hand, and the great Catholic theologians of the time, neither needed nor practised any such reserve[5]. The primary

[1] P. 165 ff.
[2] P. 205 f.
[3] P. 197 ff.
[4] P. 186 f.
[5] Cf., e.g., pp. 178 ff., 235, 243 &c.

purpose of men such as Gregory of Nazianzus was to refute heresy rather than to define truth, but incidentally they built up an edifice of exact doctrine which remained as the permanent possession of the Church. The chief features in their teaching on the Person of the Holy Spirit may be collected here.

All agree, as against Sabellianism, that the Spirit is not a mere phase in the Divine self-manifestation, but a timeless interior relation in God, or, as it was expressed by the Cappadocians, a mode of the Divine existence (τρόπος ὑπάρξεως) which is neither Father nor Son, but always and only Holy Spirit[1]. All agree, as against Arianism, that this distinction does not touch the essential being of the Spirit, which is one with that of the Father and the Son. This essential being was called by some of the earlier theologians οὐσία (*usia*, essence) and by others ὑπόστασις (hypostasis), whilst others again used ὑπόστασις only of the mode in which the οὐσία subsisted in the several Persons; the Westerns spoke of the 'essence' as *substantia* and of the hypostases as *personae*[2]. But these were differences of terminology only, and the fact was happily recognized by Athanasius and the Council of Alexandria nearly twenty years before the final struggle of the Church with her Arian opponents.

The Holy Spirit, then, according to the teaching

[1] P. 253. Cf. Bethune-Baker, *Meaning of Homoousios*, p. 53 (in *Texts and Studies*, VII. 1).

[2] P. 173.

Part III. i.

of Catholic theologians of the fourth century, does not belong to the category of the creature. He is from God, not as the creature is, but as being of one substance with God; co-eternal with the Father[1], and therefore essentially God[2]. He receives His place in the Holy Trinity, not by subnumeration (ὑπαρίθμησις), but by connumeration (συναρίθμησις)[3]; not as a subordinate, but as equal to the First Person and the Second in dignity and power[4] (ἰσότιμος, ὁμοδύναμος). His order in the Trinity implies no inferiority. In the Godhead there is neither greater nor less[5], prior nor posterior; all is co-eternal and co-equal. If the Spirit is rightly included in the Godhead, as the whole Church inferred from the Baptismal words, then He has all the prerogatives of Deity, and rightly receives the worship due to God, and the name of God. The 'conglorification' of the Spirit follows from His consubstantiality, and attests it[6].

The arguments by which this conclusion was reached are not all of equal value. The chief appeal is to Scripture, and the exegesis is often at fault. On both sides certain stock passages are quoted which from the modern standpoint are irrelevant. Thus the Arians appealed to Amos iv. 13, which seemed to speak of the Spirit as a creature, and to 1 Tim. v. 21 where, as they thought, He was included

[1] Pp. 212 f., 224 f., 243, 281.
[2] Cf., e.g., p. 292 f.
[3] P. 232 ff.
[4] P. 223.
[5] So even Origen, p. 131.
[6] P. 236.

among 'elect angels[1].' Many of the Scriptural proofs of the Deity of the Spirit produced on the Catholic side were not much sounder. But when the Catholics pointed to the Divine attributes and energies ascribed to the Holy Spirit in the fourth Gospel and the Epistles of St Paul, and asked whether a created being could regenerate and re-create, sanctify and perfect, human nature[2], they stood on ground which was really unassailable; and their position was equally strong when they condemned the Arian doctrine of a created Holy Spirit as a novelty opposed to the immemorial tradition of the Church, which from the first had glorified the Spirit with the Father and the Son. Part III. i.

The Spirit then, it was clear, was not a creature, not even the first and greatest work of the creative Logos. But if He is not a creature, He is God, for there is no middle term. And this result agrees with all that we know and experience of His working. The Holy Spirit, as He is revealed to us in Scripture and as He manifests Himself in the life of the Church, is essentially good, wise, and strong. He imparts to the creature goodness, wisdom, and strength; He does not receive them as the creature does. He is uncircumscribed, as God is, present and at work at the same time throughout the whole creation. To withhold the name of God from a Being who is such as this, is to trifle with language. But when this is conceded, all that the Church contends for is conceded. A Divine Spirit is co-eternal and co-equal with the

[1] P. 214. [2] Pp. 202 f., 217, 223, 236, 243 f.

Part III. i.

Father and the Son. The Persons of the Godhead are one in essence, one in will, and one in operation. Such as the Father is, such is the Son, and such is the Holy Spirit; that which the Father does, the Son does likewise, and that which the Son does is done by the Holy Spirit. The Arian Trinity is a triad of dissimilar and separated beings; the Catholic conception of the Trinity, as it was completed by the full recognition of the Godhead of the Spirit, is that of a true and perfect Unity which is not impaired by the distinctions in the Tripersonal life[1].

[1] The reader who wishes to pursue the subject may consult with advantage Th. Schermann, *die Gottheit des h. Geistes nach den Greich. Vätern des vierten Jahrhunderts* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1901).

II.

THE HOLY SPIRIT'S RELATION TO THE FATHER AND THE SON, AND HIS FUNCTION IN THE LIFE OF GOD.

THE New Testament teaches that the Holy Spirit is the Spirit both of the Father and of the Son. The ancient Church understood this to mean that He belongs essentially to Both. Since the Son is of one substance with the Father, and has all things that the Father has, He has the Spirit of the Father for His own. The Spirit is the Son's own (ἴδιον), as He is the Father's own[1]. He is in the Son, as He is in the Father, in the way of essence and nature (οὐσιωδῶς, φυσικῶς)[2]. He rests[3] and abides[4] in the Son; He is the Image of the Son, as the Son is the Image of the Father[5]; He was sent by the Son from the Father, from whom He proceeds with and through the Son. In the West it was added that He proceeds also from the Son.

That the Divine Essence in the Second and Third Persons is derived from the First Person was

[1] P. 266 ff.
[2] Cyril of Alexandria.
[3] P. 281.
[4] P. 348 n.
[5] P. 285.

understood on all hands to be a doctrine necessary to the maintenance of the *monarchia*. The Nicene faith had declared the Son to be "God, of God (ἐκ θεοῦ), begotten of (ἐκ) the Father, only-begotten, that is, of the essence of the Father" (ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρός); i.e., deriving His being from the being of the Father by unique generation. A corresponding clause in the Constantinopolitan Creed defines the derivation of the Holy Spirit in the words "who proceedeth from (ἐκ) the Father." This phrase is taken from the Gospel of St John, with a significant change of preposition which makes it analogous to "begotten of the Father" in the second paragraph of the Nicene form[1]. Thus it was explicitly taught by the Church in her symbol that the Source of both the Son and the Spirit is the Being of the Father, and that the sole difference between the derived Persons is that the Son is from the Father by generation and the Spirit by procession[2]. It was assumed that the procession of the Spirit, like the generation of the Son, has reference to essential life and not to mission only; the mission of the Paraclete, it was seen, rested on and arose out of His eternal dependence on the essence of the Father. Other spirits are sent by God to do His pleasure, and these too are from God, but as the work of his Hands

[1] The Gospel has (xv. 26) παρὰ τοῦ πατρός: ἐκ finds its justification in 1 Cor. ii. 12 τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ. The modified phrase is frequent in Athanasius; see Hort, *Two Dissertations*, p. 86 f.

[2] Pp. 235, 245, 253, 281 f.

(δημιουργικῶς)[1]; the Spirit of God alone proceeds from God in the sense of deriving His being from the being of God (οὐσιωδῶς).

The Son and the Spirit then have this in common that both are eternally and essentially "from God." Both Persons have their Source in the Father, who is the one Source of Godhead (ἀρχή or αἴτιον, *principium*)[2]. Neither Person is inferior or posterior to the Other; as they eternally co-exist, so they simultaneously come forth from God[3]. From these premises it would seem to follow that the eternal procession of the Spirit must be, like the eternal generation of the Son, from the Father alone; and this view was strongly held by some of the Greek theologians long before the separation of East and West[4]. But the great majority of those who dealt with the question saw that the mediating position of the Son in the order of the Divine Life involved His intervention in the procession of the Spirit. On this ground the Divine Essence is conceived as passing eternally through the Second Person into the Third, so that while the Second derives His being immediately from the First, the Third proceeds mediately, through the Second[5]. Scriptural authority for this doctrine is found in St John xvi. 14 f., where the Spirit is said to receive of that which is the Son's, and the Son to have all that the Father has—words which are taken to refer not only to Divine prerogatives, but to the Divine Life itself. Greek

[1] P. 222. [2] Pp. 252, 330. [3] P. 222.
[4] Cf. (e.g.) p. 257 f. [5] Pp. 251 f., 284.

Part III. ii.

writers of the fourth century are content to say that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and receives from the Son[1]; others, or the same writers at other times, speak of Him as proceeding from the Father through the Son[2]; or they use less guarded language, which seems to make the Son a secondary source of the Spirit[3]. The Latins before Augustine generally follow the Greeks, without investigating the meaning of their formulas[4]. Augustine, perceiving the obscurity in which the question was involved[5], gave it his attention for many years, and ultimately embodied his conclusions in a form of words which established itself in Western theology and even in Western translations of the Oecumenical Creed. The Father and the Son are (he taught) the common Source of the Holy Spirit; He proceeds from Both. But He proceeds from Both as one Source, and by one spiration. Procession from the Father involves procession from the Son, since the Father and the Son are one in substance; together with the eternal life of the Father's Essence, the Son receives also the power to communicate that Essence to the Holy Spirit[6]. Thus guarded, Augustine's doctrine is not exposed to the charge of involving two 'principles' of Divine Life, a supposition which he explicitly rejects[7]; and it does not differ seriously from the Greek theory of the transmission of the Divine

[1] P. 216. [2] Pp. 235, 282.
[3] Pp. 224 f., 227 f., 266.
[4] Cf. pp. 298, 302, 304 f., 320, 322.
[5] P. 323 ff. [6] P. 328 ff. [7] P. 324.

Essence through the Son[1]. But while it appealed to the Western mind, which regarded it as completing the doctrine of a consubstantial Trinity, the East viewed it with growing mistrust, which became active hostility when it was discovered that the *Filioque* had been added to the Latin Creed. Thus to this day Augustine's view rests only on Western authority, and cannot be regarded as an integral part of the Catholic faith. The doctrine upon which the whole ancient Church was agreed is that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son[2]. It is impossible not to regret that the Latin Church, if an addition to the Constantinopolitan creed was judged to be necessary, did not add *per filium* rather than *et filio*, and make this change in concert with the Greek East.

The third place assigned to the Holy Spirit in the words of Baptism, and in all the creeds and documents of the ancient Church[3], corresponds with the order of the Divine Self-revelation in human history. But the Church, with her keen interest in Theology, usually interpreted the place of the Holy Spirit in the Trinity as answering to the order in which the Divine life flows in its ceaseless course from the Source in the Father to the other Persons of the Godhead. As we have seen, it was held that the Son mediates in the life of God[4], and that the Father's Essence passes through the Son to the Spirit. In regard to His derivation therefore

[1] P. 279 f.

[2] Cf. pp. 282, 284.

[3] Pp. 12, 15, 37, 151 ff.

[4] Pp. 235, 249 ff.

Part III. ii.

the Spirit is third, as the Son is second, from the Cause or Source of all Divine subsistence and power.

But from another point of view it is the Holy Spirit who mediates. In derivation He is third, but in His functional relations to the Trinity He is intermediate between the Father and the Son[1]. He is the Bond of the Trinity[2], the harmony which unites Father and Son[3]; the fellowship, the common life, almost the very Godhead of the Two, the holiness and mutual love of Both. The Father loves the Son, the Son returns the Father's love; the Love of Both is a Third Person, who makes them one. It is His function to unify and to preserve the Unity unbroken. Or to use another analogy, He is as the will, which in man co-exists with the understanding and the memory. As the three constitute one man, so the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are One God. Each of these elements in man contributes its own quota to the perfection of our life; and so in the mystery of the Divine Life Each Person fulfils His own proper function, the Spirit exercising the function of the will, which in God is perfect Love[4].

But all such attempts to realize the inner life of God are carefully guarded against abuse. Every approach to idle or irreverent curiosity is condemned by the great Catholic writers of the fourth and fifth centuries; if they venture to illustrate by analogy or otherwise to explain the interior relations and functions of the Divine Trinity, they do so reluctantly, with no other purpose than to counteract heresies which left no sacred mystery unexplored.

[1] P. 282 f. [2] P. 226. [3] P. 326. [4] P. 331.

III.

THE PERSONAL LIFE OF THE SPIRIT.

From time to time the question was forced upon the Church, 'Is the Holy Spirit a living Person, or merely an operative principle?' Origen answers 'He is an entity, and an entity is not an energy, though it have a capacity for energy[1].' Gregory, on the eve of the Second Council, notes that there were some who still held the Spirit to be a mere energy[2], the activity of God; and he points out the necessity of choosing between the alternatives[3]. Both Arians and Catholics taught that the Third Person possesses an Essential life; those who took Him for an energy were probably a small minority of persons who either were infected with Sabellian views, or sought to escape from the controversy of the hour by denying that the Holy Spirit was an entity of any kind, created or Divine. Such a

[1] P. 133.

[2] P. 241.

[3] *Or. theol.* v. 6 τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἢ τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸ ὑφεστηκότων πάντως ὑποθετέον ἢ τῶν ἐν ἑτέρῳ θεωρουμένων· ὧν τὸ μὲν οὐσίαν καλοῦσιν οἱ περὶ ταῦτα δεινοί, τὸ δὲ συμβεβηκός. Cf. iii. 6, where ἐνέργεια is contrasted with οὐσία.

Part III. iii.

rejection of the personal life of the Spirit must have been rare within the Catholic Church; the only Catholic writer of the first four centuries who is charged with it is Lactantius, a layman whose strength did not lie in theological distinctions[1]. The current of Christian thought ran the other way; the consciousness of believers in general refused to think of the Divine Power which had taught and guided and strengthened them throughout their baptized life as an impersonal energy. No doubt it was more difficult to connect the conception of personality with the Spirit, who is known only through His gifts, than with the Son, who was manifested in human flesh; and there are passages in the earlier patristic literature, as there are in the New Testament, where emphasis is laid on the work of the Spirit in words which do not encourage a belief in His personal existence. But, as Origen saw, the gracious workings of God, themselves impersonal, are hypostatized in the Holy Spirit[2], who is God in operation. Arianism, to do it justice, did much to strengthen this position, laying stress on the reality of the three hypostases in the Trinity[3]; and its Catholic antagonists, while they rejected the Arian hypothesis of a created Spirit of God, held fast to the hypostatic distinctness of each of the three modes of the Divine existence. The Holy Spirit, they taught, is not simply an Energy, but a Life (ζῶσα ἐνέργεια)[4]: He co-exists with the Father and the Son[5]; He is the

[1] P. 150 f. [2] P. 128. [3] P. 167 ff.
[4] P. 216. [5] P. 222.

Divine Life ever flowing from the Father and the Son[1]; if His operations are manifold, His essence is simple; He is Himself a living Essence[2]. Scripture attributes to Him the actions and emotions of a person; He gives light and life, or rather is Himself the very Light and Life (*αὐτόφως καὶ ζωή*)[3]. As the Word of God has personal existence, so has the Breath of God which goes forth with His Word[4]. The Spirit, like the Son, was believed to have a hypostatic existence of His own (*ὑφεστάναι αὐτὸ καθ' ἑαυτό*)[5], although inseparable from the other hypostases in God and from the Divine Essence[6]; He possesses free will, as well as life and energy. If the Holy Spirit is to be regarded, as some were disposed to regard Him, in the light of the common Godhead, the mutual Love, the unifying Fellowship of the One Divine Life, it is to be remembered that the Godhead, Love, Fellowship of God, call it what you will, has substantive existence (substantia est). Each Person in God is the full Essence, and all the Persons together are one Essence[7].

Thus, whatever individuals may have thought, the consensus of opinion in the ancient Church supported a belief in the personal subsistence of the Holy Spirit[8]. It was clear to her that the Spirit

[1] P. 227. [2] Pp. 233, 235. [3] P. 244 n.
[4] P. 247. [5] P. 375.
[6] P. 281. [7] P. 325.

[8] Theodore of Mopsuestia points out (p. 257) that the hypostatizing of the Spirit is a characteristic note of Christianity, which was wanting in the theology of the Old Testament.

Part III. iii.

possesses the self-consciousness, self-determination, and love, that make up that which in modern language is called 'personality.' But the Church did not attribute to Him, as the Arians did, a personality separate from the personal life of God. The Holy Spirit is an eternally existing mode of the Being of God, and not a separate centre of consciousness and self-determination; the One God thinking, willing, acting, in one of His three eternal spheres of thought, volition, and activity[1]. The Holy Spirit is not, according to the doctrine of the ancient Church, a Divine Individual[2], but the indivisible Godhead subsisting and operating in one of the essential relations of His Tripersonal Life. If it was asked, "How can these things be?" the Church of the fourth century answered that it did not know. Man does not know all the secrets of his own nature, and how can he hope by searching to find out God? Enough to be assured that He is, and that He is Father, Son, and Holy Spirit[3].

[1] On this subject see Bethune-Baker, *Meaning of Homoousion*, p. 70 ff.; Srawley, *Cappadocian Theology* (in Hastings, *Dict. of Religion and Ethics*, iii. p. 213 ff.).

[2] P. 250 f.

[3] Pp. 246, 311 f.

IV.

THE WORK OF THE SPIRIT IN CREATION.

The Holy Spirit, although not a mere 'energy' or operative principle in God, is a living Power whose life is one of ceaseless work[1]; as the Father works, and the Son works, so also the Holy Spirit works. Being one with the Father and the Son in essence and will, He is one with them also in act; whatever is done by one Person in the tripersonal Godhead is done by all the Three[2]. Creation is one of the acts of God; if the Holy Spirit is God, or if He is not a creature, He must possess and exercise creative powers[3].

Thus let it be conceded that the Holy Spirit is consubstantial with the Father and the Son, and His activity in the work of Creation follows as a matter of course. But this was not the point of view from which the ancient Church approached the subject. Long before the titles 'God' and 'Consubstantial' were applied to the Third Person, it had been gathered from Scripture that He was concerned in the creation and preservation of the world. Two groups of passages in the Old Testament seemed

[1] P. 224. [2] Pp. 250 f., 318. [3] Pp. 236, 312.

Part III. iv.

to leave no doubt of the fact: passages which like Genesis i. 2 and Psalm xxxiii. 6 connect the Breath and Spirit of God with the cosmogony, and those, again, which like Proverbs viii. 22 ff. and Wisdom i. 7, xii. 1, assign a cosmic significance to the Wisdom of God[1]. From the second century the Divine Wisdom was usually identified by Christian writers with the Spirit, as the Divine Word had been identified by St John with the Son. Thus the conception arose that the Word and Wisdom are the two Hands of God[2], instruments of creative activity which are not external to the Godhead but inherent in It. Later writers varied the metaphor, representing the Son as the Father's Right Hand, and the Spirit as the Finger of God[3]—a view for which support was found in the Gospels[4]. The second of these figures places the work of the Spirit in relation to that of the Son, while both alike imply that the source of all creative power as of the Godhead itself is in the Person of the Father. From the first the Church held inflexibly that creation is the prerogative of the Father[5]. Yet, as both St Paul and St John testify, all things were made by the Son or Word: and in like manner it could be maintained, without prejudice to the Source, that all

[1] Pp. 46, 87.

[2] P. 87 f.

[3] P. 224, 320.

[4] Cf. Luke xi. 20 (Matt. xii. 28).

[5] See Justin, *Dial.* 74, Iren. ii. 1. 1, *Ep. ad Diogn.* 7. Though the words *creatorem caeli et terrae* are not a part of the old Roman Creed, similar words occur in the early Palestinian Creeds; see Hahn-Harnack, p. 131 f.

things were made in the Holy Spirit. The Church conceived of the operative power of God passing, as the Godhead itself passes, from the Father into the Son and from the Son into the Spirit, without leaving the Source; the Divine energy originates with the Father, goes forth through the Son, and is brought to perfection in the Holy Spirit[1].

While the Persons work, as they subsist, inseparably, certain acts or aspects of Divine activity may be specially ascribed to any one of the Three[2]. So far as the ancient Church assigns to the Holy Spirit a special office in connexion with the Creation, it seems to be as follows. Each creative act which the Father performs through the Son, reaches its fulfilment in the sphere (ἐν) of the Holy Spirit's operation. He gives actuality to the work of creation and brings it to its destined end. If the Son is the Power of God, the Spirit is the Spirit of power; the vitalizer (ζωοποιόν)[3], the Perfecter (τελεσιουργόν)[4] of the works of God. To Him, with the Word, was addressed the Divine counsel, "Let us make man after our image," and man's spiritual nature is in a special manner His work. It was not, however, only in the original creation of the world that the ancient Church saw the handiwork of the Spirit[5]; the immanence of the Creator Spirit in the world that He had made was also clearly recognized. The Church read in her Greek Bible that "the Spirit

[1] P. 250 f. [2] P. 340. [3] P. 186; cf. p. 46.

[4] 'Basil,' *c. Eunom.* v. (Migne, *P. G.* xxix. 728).

[5] Iren. v. 1. 3; 6. 1.

Part III. iv.

of the Lord hath filled the world," and "holdeth all things together"; that "Wisdom reacheth from one end of the world to the other with full strength, and ordereth all things graciously[1]"; and she applied all this to the hypostatic Spirit of the Holy Trinity. "The Spirit," writes John of Damascus, summing up the teaching of the fourth century, "is creative, all-ruling, all-working, all-powerful, sovereign over every creature, partaken of by every creature, and by Himself creating and giving being to (*οὐσιοῦν*) all things, sanctifying and holding them together." "He fills all things with His essence, and holds all together: He can fill the world with His essence (*πληρωτικὸν κόσμου κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν*), but the world itself cannot set bounds to His power (*ἀχώρητον κόσμου κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν*)[2]."

[1] Wisdom i. 7, viii. 1.

[2] *De fid. orth.* i. 3, 13; cf. pp. 42, 244.

V.

THE WORK OF THE SPIRIT IN INSPIRATION.

No work of the Holy Spirit was more constantly present to the mind of the early post-apostolic Church than His inspiration of the Old Testament. There is nothing in the great Eucharistic creed of Christendom which is more truly primitive than the clause, "Who spake by the Prophets[1]." To the Church of the first century and the first half of the second, the Law and the Prophets were still the only canonical Scriptures; and the canonical Scriptures were the most conspicuous monument of the Spirit's handiwork[2]. The Old Testament, more especially the Prophets of the Old Testament, formed the text-book of the primitive preacher, and the mainstay of the earlier apologists, who appealed to the "Spirit of prophecy" as their chief witness to the truth of the Gospel. The Spirit "preached through the prophets the

[1] The 'Rule of Truth' in Irenaeus has *τὸ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν κεκηρυχός*. Our present form (*τὸ λαλῆσαν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν*) comes from the shorter Epiphanian Creed; the Creed of Jerusalem has *τὸ λ. ἐν τοῖς προφήταις*. The Western Creeds shew no similar clause.

[2] Pp. 12, 18, 48.

Part III. v.

dispensations and the Advents," exhibiting on the stage of history the Divine purpose to successive generations, till the Christ came[1].

When the Gospels and other Apostolic writings began to be recognized as forming a second or Christian canon, they were welcomed as a further instalment of the Holy Spirit's work[2]. Prophets and Evangelists, it was believed, were inspired by the One Spirit of God[3]. There was no response on the part of Christians in general to Marcion's attempt to substitute the New Testament for the Old. On the contrary, Marcionism seems to have stiffened the resolution of the Church to regard the Jewish and the Christian canons as two parts of the same revelation. In the fourth century 'conservatives' and Nicene Catholics agree in laying emphasis on the identity of the Spirit who spake by the Prophets with the Paraclete who enlightened the Apostles[4]. There is no point which Cyril of Jerusalem seems more anxious to impress on his catechumens; and herein he speaks for the whole Church. "There is One Holy Spirit, who preached Christ through the Prophets, and when Christ had come descended and revealed Him. Let no man therefore divide the Old Testament from the New; let no man say that the Spirit in the Old Testament is one, and the

[1] P. 86.

[2] P. 48. Cf. the Cappadocian Creed (Hort, *Dissertations*, p. 146): τὸ λαλῆσαν ἐν νόμῳ καὶ ἐν προφήταις καὶ ἐν εὐαγγελίοις.

[3] Pp. 126, 202.

[4] Cf., e.g., pp. 200 f., 244.

Spirit in the New Testament is another[1]." The West is here in perfect harmony with the East. "The Spirit who was in the Prophets (writes Lucifer), abode also in the Apostles[2]"; "the Spirit who inspired the Prophets (so Ambrose teaches) is identical with the Paraclete who descended on the Apostles[3]." Part III. v.

On the nature and extent of Inspiration ancient Christian writers speak with an absence of reserve which is not in accordance with our present estimate. The Holy Scriptures were regarded as the writings of the Holy Spirit[4]; any one who did not believe that they were spoken by the Spirit was counted an unbeliever[5]. The prophets were used by the Spirit as a workman uses his tools, or a musician his flute[6]. Origen, indeed, allowed himself some freedom in dealing with the earlier narratives of the Old Testament; and the Catholic champions of the fourth century protested against the slavish following of the letter of Scripture which was implied in the Arian refusal to use terms that had no direct Scriptural authority[7]. But there was no real abandonment on the Catholic side of the old belief in verbal inspiration. Catholics as well as Arians appealed to Scripture as containing the very words of the Holy Spirit, and professed themselves ready to be bound

[1] *Catech.* xvi. 4.

[2] Migne, *P. L.* xiii. 988.

[3] Migne, *P. L.* xvi. 747.

[4] Pp. 12, 18.

[5] P. 97.

[6] P. 44f. For further illustrations of this tendency see Westcott, *Introduction to the study of the Gospels*, App. B.

[7] Cf. Greg. Naz. *or. theol.* v. 1, 18, 24.

Part III. v.

by its verdict. Perhaps the doctrine of Inspiration is less frequently set forth in the fourth century than in the second; attention had been diverted from it by more pressing matters. But there was no conscious departure from the primitive view.

Prophetic inspiration was not regarded as having altogether ceased with the Apostolic age. Not only are Christian prophets mentioned and their methods described by obscure authors such as Hermas and the writer of the *Didache*, but Irenaeus bears testimony to the exercise of prophetic gifts in his own time[1], and an anti-Montanistic writer admits that such gifts were expected to continue in the Church until the Advent[2]. Montanism failed, however, to revive prophecy on a large scale or as a permanent factor in Church life. On the other hand it did good work in so far as it called attention to the continual presence and working of the Holy Spirit in the Church. It is even possible that Tertullian is not altogether wrong in his belief that he owed to Montanism the deeper insight into Christian doctrine which marks his later works[3].

From the first a distinction was drawn between the inspiration of Apostles and Prophets and that which lifts and illuminates ordinary Christian life. "The faithful," writes Tertullian, perhaps before he became a Montanist[4], "have the Spirit of God, but

[1] P. 74, n. 4. [2] P. 68. [3] Pp. 79 ff., 107.

[4] *De exh. cast.* 4; cf. Harnack, *chron.* ii. p. 296. Harnack places this treatise A.D. 204–206(7), and Tertullian's quarrel with the Church 207–8 (or 206–7).

the faithful are not all Apostles. Apostles have the Holy Spirit in a special manner, in the fulness of His gifts and powers." Of the inspiration of private life the ancient Church has much to say, but the subject will come before us in a later chapter[1].

[1] Ch. ix.

VI.

THE WORK OF THE SPIRIT IN THE INCARNATION AND THE INCARNATE SON.

Part III. vi.

THE ancient Church believed that the Holy Spirit, who had foretold the Advent through the Prophets, when the fulness of the time came effected the Incarnation. "There can be nothing," writes St Ambrose, "which the Holy Spirit can be said not to have wrought; it cannot be doubted that Angels and Archangels, Thrones and Dominions, owe their existence to His operation, since the Lord Himself, whom angels serve, was begotten through the descent of the Holy Spirit on the Virgin. The Virgin's offspring, then, was the work of the Spirit, and we cannot hesitate to speak of the Spirit as Creator, when we know Him to be the author of the Lord's incarnation[1]."

But so explicit a statement is perhaps hardly to be found before the fourth century. The virginity of the Mother of the Lord was an article of faith

[1] Ambr. *de Sp. S.* ii. 5.

with Ignatius[1], Justin[2], and Irenaeus[3], and the conception and birth of her Son were connected from the first with the action of the Holy Spirit[4]; but the Holy Spirit of the Conception was not at first always differentiated from the pre-existent Logos, or identified with the Third Person of the Holy Trinity. Justin, who expressly affirms that the Spirit which descended on Mary was none other than the Logos, has put into words the thought which was probably in the minds of most Christians in the second century. Even in the fourth century Hilary's teaching on this subject is not free from ambiguity[5]. But the prolonged struggle with Arianism cleared the thought of the Church on this question as well as on many another; and the words of Ambrose, quoted above, express the final judgement of ancient Christendom upon the part taken by the Third Person in the Incarnation of the Son[6]. If Theodore and Nestorius differed widely from Cyril of Alexandria in their interpretation of the Incarnate life, they were agreed in regarding the Holy Spirit as the Power by which this life was begun[7].

Early heretical thought occupied itself largely

[1] Ign. *Eph.* vii., xix.; *Trall.* ix., *Smyrn.* i.

[2] See p. 38.

[3] Iren. *haer.* iii. 21. 5; 22. 4.

[4] Pp. 15 f., 33; cf. Hahn-Harnack, pp. 4, 23 f.

[5] See p. 300, note 3.

[6] Cf., e.g., Athan. *ep. ad Serap.* i. 4, iii. 6. Greg. Naz. v. 29. John of D., *de fide orth.* iv. 13 f.

[7] See pp. 259, 265.

Part III. vi.

with the descent of the Spirit at the Baptism, interpreting it in accordance with the speculations of various Gnostic schools[1]. Catholic writers on the other hand consistently taught that the Spirit of the Baptism was the same Holy Spirit that had inspired the Prophets[2]. The Baptism was the occasion of the anointing of the Christ by the Father with the unction of the Spirit, which at once prepared Him for His ministry, and was a first step towards the indwelling of the Spirit in the race[3].

On the relation of the anointing Spirit to the miracles and other works of the Christ, a sharp difference of opinion revealed itself in the fifth century. Theodore of Mopsuestia had taught that the Man assumed by the Word owed to the Holy Spirit his victory over Satan, his sinlessness, his miraculous powers, and the whole course of life which led to his glorious resurrection and ascension. This view was adopted by Nestorius, and called forth from Cyril of Alexandria a condemnation which led to controversy between Cyril and Theodoret[4]. But so far as regards the relation of the Spirit to the Incarnate Son and His human life, the dispute was chiefly verbal. Theodoret was at one with Cyril in holding that the Spirit is the Son's own, seeing He is of the same nature as the Son; and Cyril did not deny that the miracles and teaching of our Lord were in the power of the Holy

[1] Pp. 54, 58, 65, 96 f.
[2] Pp. 89, 200, 207.
[3] Pp. 89, 260.
[4] Pp. 260, 265 ff.

Spirit. Cyril added indeed that the Lord used this power as God (θεϊκῶς)[1], and seems to have regarded the Unction of the Spirit as received by the Christ not so much on His own account as for our sakes[2]. The difference, however, so far as it was real and deep-seated, was a difference between the Antiochene and Alexandrian conceptions of the relation of the two natures in the Incarnate Son[3].

[1] Migne, *P. G.* lxxvi. 355.

[2] See the fragments on Hebrews printed in P. E. Pusey's edition of the Comm. on S. John (iii. pp. 378, 380).

[3] For the teaching of the New Testament on the work of the Spirit in the Incarnate Son see *Holy Spirit in the N.T.*, p. 55 ff.; and for a fresh and interesting treatment of the question by a recent writer on lines which are not exactly Cyril's or Theodoret's, but retain what is true in both their views, see Bp Weston's *The One Christ*, p. 235 ff.

VII.

THE MISSION OF THE PARACLETE.

Part III. vii.

THAT the Holy Spirit had been poured out upon the Church was realized by the early post-apostolic writers[1]; but they do not appear to have connected the fact with the Lord's promise of another Paraclete or with the event of the Pentecost. Even the Apologists of the second century refer but seldom and vaguely to the Pentecostal gift[2]. But Gnosticism[3] and Montanism[4], and above all, a growing acquaintance with the Gospel of St John and the Acts of the Apostles, turned the thought of the Church to the mission of the Paraclete. The subject receives careful attention for the first time in the writings of Irenaeus. The points on which he seizes are as follows. (*a*) God promised by His prophets to send the Holy Spirit to mankind; (*b*) this promise was fulfilled when the Spirit descended on the Son of God made Son of man, and thus accustomed Himself to dwell in human nature; (*c*) the Lord

[1] Pp. 12, 18.

[2] E.g., Justin writes, *ap.* i. 50, εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνερχόμενον ἰδόντες, καὶ δύναμιν ἐκεῖθεν αὐτοῖς πεμφθεῖσαν παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβόντες.

[3] Cf. p. 66.

[4] Pp. 72, 74 ff., 79 ff.

promised to send 'another Paraclete,' and at the Ascension He received this gift from the Father and sent it into the world; (*d*) thus the Unction with which the Christ was anointed overflowed upon the Church[1]. Tertullian insists no less strongly upon the mission of the Spirit, not only in his Montanistic works, where he connects the Paraclete with Montanus and the New Prophecy, but in his earlier writings[2]; and the Pentecostal Mission finds a place in his Rule of Faith both before and after his acceptance of Montanism[3].

Attention has been called to the emphasis laid by Arianism on the mission of the Paraclete[4]. Between 340 and 360 creed after creed came from the Arian party, which emphasized the coming of the Spirit and His work in the world. The motive with which these confessions were issued may not have been pure, and their doctrine of the Holy Spirit is certainly incomplete; but their teaching, so far as it goes, is in accordance with the teaching of the New Testament, and it must have served to keep before the mind of the Church the mission of the Spirit and its great results. This teaching was supplemented from time to time by contemporary writers of various schools[5]; and when the time came for a full statement of the whole doctrine of the Spirit, His mission, as well as His procession,

[1] Iren. *haer.* iii. 17. 1 ff.

[2] Cf. *de praescr.* 28; *de bapt.* 4.

[3] See Hahn-Harnack, p. 9 f.

[4] P. 166 ff.

[5] Cf. pp. 201 f., 206 ff., 298 ff.

Part III. vii.

although passed over in silence by the Constantinopolitan Creed, received careful treatment from the great theologians of the Church. 'Mission,' they taught, must be distinguished from 'procession'; procession is the timeless flow of the Spirit's Divine life from its Source; mission is His destination to a particular work, to be accomplished in time[1]. Further, it was explained that the mission of a Divine Person by the Source implies no inferiority or subjection. The Son was sent by the Father and the Spirit, the Spirit by the Father and the Son; the Father alone is not sent, being the ultimate cause both of procession and mission. No local movement is involved in mission, and no separation either from the Source or from the other derived Person[2].

If it be asked, To whom was the Spirit sent from the Father by the Son? the answer is not quite unanimous, nor does the same writer seem always to arrive at the same conclusion. Thus Irenaeus, as we have seen, speaks of the Paraclete as overflowing from the Christ to the human race; yet elsewhere he limits His operations to the Church[3]. In Tertullian's rule of faith the Holy Spirit is represented as sent "to guide believers[4]"; but in his Montanistic works, Montanists only are the "Church of the Spirit," and Catholic Christians, notwithstanding

[1] Cf. p. 329.

[2] Ambr. *de Sp. S.* iii. 1 (cf. *de fide* ii. 11); Cyril. Alex. *in Joann.* vii. (ed. Pusey, p. 670 e, 671 b).

[3] Cf. pp. 90, 92.

[4] *De praescr.* 13 qui credentes agat.

their succession of Bishops, are mere 'psychics[1].' Cyprian, on the other hand, will not allow that there is any presence of the Holy Spirit outside the Catholic Church; heretical bodies neither possess the Spirit nor can communicate His gifts[2]. Origen, always independent in his judgements, assigns to the Holy Spirit a more limited sphere of operation than to the Father and the Son; while the First and Second Persons operate throughout the creation, the Third is concerned with the sanctification of the rational creatures, and works only in the saints[3]. A modification of this view seems ultimately to have prevailed; the work of the Holy Spirit in creation and in the created Universe was fully recognized, but it was generally agreed that the Third Person is preeminently the Sanctifying Power (*τὸ ἁγιαστικόν*)[4], and that as such He works since the Pentecost through the Holy Church, the Body of Christ in which He dwells. But while the special connexion of the Spirit with the Catholic Church is firmly maintained, the exclusiveness of Cyprian is not generally reflected in the great theological writings of the fourth and fifth centuries; Hilary expresses the more usual belief when he says that the gift of the Spirit is denied to none who are willing to receive it, and who seek it in the appointed way[5].

[1] P. 81.

[2] P. 116 f.

[3] P. 130; cf. p. 140 f.

[4] Pp. 196, 201 f., 244.

[5] P. 305; cf. Basil's teaching (p. 233), and Augustine's (p. 335 f.).

Part III. vii.

Lastly, it was firmly held that the mission of the Holy Spirit to the Church was but a continuance of His sanctifying work in pre-Christian times, although both the sphere and manner of His working were new. The Mission of the Paraclete was not a new departure in the dealings of God with men, but a great extension of the work which had been going forward in earlier ages of the world, and more especially within the life of Israel. There were saints before Christ, and no saint was ever without the sanctifying grace of the Holy Spirit. The gift of Pentecost was not a new gift, but it was given in new abundance, through new channels, and with new and glorious results[1].

[1] See pp. 108, 202, 340.

VIII.

THE WORK OF THE SPIRIT IN THE SACRAMENTS.

Of the reality and greatness of the Spirit's work in Christian Baptism the ancient Church entertained no doubt. The Lord had joined together water and the Spirit in the mystery of the New Birth, and no Christian in the early centuries dared to put them asunder. Water, it was pointed out, had been associated with the Spirit of God in the first creation[1], and sanctified afresh by the Lord's own baptism in the Jordan[2]. Yet there was no disposition to regard the baptismal rite as magical. The water of Baptism was seen to be but the outward and visible sign, and the spiritual efficacy of the Sacrament to be due to the Holy Spirit whose action it symbolized[3]. Water baptism and the baptism of the Spirit are separable in thought and in fact[4], although in the Catholic Church through Christ's gift they normally coincide. As for the minister of Baptism, whether he be bishop, presbyter, or deacon, his part is ministerial only; it is the Holy Spirit who dispenses grace[5]. Children receive the

[1] P. 113. [2] See Cyril of Jerusalem, *catech.* iii. 11.
[3] P. 318 f. See, however, p. 113.
[4] P. 119. [5] P. 206.

Part III. viii.

grace of Baptism in virtue of Christ's ordinance[1]; adults must come to the Sacrament in sincerity and faith, or they will not be baptized by the Holy Spirit[5]. The Holy Spirit is not so tied to the external rite that He cannot withhold His grace when it is not sincerely desired, or bestow it when the Sacrament cannot be received[2]. Nor is He pledged to continue it to any who prove themselves unworthy, whether they have received Baptism in infancy or in riper years[3].

To the question what effect is produced by the Baptism of the Spirit more than one answer was returned. The ancient Creeds gave prominence to the remission of sins as the chief purpose and result of Baptism[4]; and herein they followed the Pentecostal teaching of St Peter[5]. But remission of sins is closely connected by our Lord with the Gift of the Holy Spirit[6], and the inference was drawn that He operates in the initiatory remission at Baptism[7]. Forgiveness, however, does not stand alone; other gifts accompany or follow in quick succession—the illumination of the mind, which gave to Baptism one of its earliest names[8]; the new creation or new birth of the soul, which is perhaps the most

[1] Pp. 206, 334. [2] P. 262. [3] Pp. 134, 334.

[4] The Western article, *remissionem peccatorum*, is interpreted by the fuller Eastern form ἓν *βάπτισμα εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν*.

[5] Acts ii. 38. Cf. Mc. i. 4, from which many creeds borrow *β. μετανοίας*.

[6] Jo. xx. 23. [7] Pp. 223, 335.

[8] Pp. 35, 115, 204, 272.

characteristic of baptismal gifts[1]; the sealing of the soul which endures, if the baptized are faithful, to eternal life[2]; the restoration of our nature to the Divine Image[3]; in a word, the sanctifying and deifying of man by making him a partaker in the nature of God[4]. Anointed by the Spirit which anointed the Christ, men become 'christs' and may be called by that name[5].

In the administration of Baptism the work of the Holy Spirit was recognized by invoking His presence and operation. This was done at more than one point in the service: before immersion, when after solemn invocation the Spirit was believed to descend upon the water, giving it the power to sanctify and cleanse[6]; before chrismation, when the Spirit was invoked upon the chrism, which was thus identified with His anointing grace[7]. The imposition of the Bishop's hand which followed the chrismation was regarded in the light of an invitation to the Holy Spirit to rest on the baptized. With this last ceremony Tertullian explicitly connects the baptismal gift of the Spirit[8]; and on the whole there was a tendency, especially in the West[9], to connect this gift either with the unction or with laying on of hands which followed the

[1] Pp. 35, 115, 118, 261, 263, 319, 334.
[2] Pp. 200, 206, 224; cf. pp. 90 ff., 261, 289.
[3] P. 270.
[4] Pp. 217, 244, 285.
[5] Pp. 148, 207.
[6] Pp. 113, 289.
[7] Pp. 207 f., 289.
[8] Pp. 114, 289.
[9] Cf. pp. 114, 117 ff.

Part III. viii.

immersion rather than with the immersion itself. But so long as the three ceremonies were regarded as constituting one sacramental rite, this difference of opinion mattered little; it was agreed on all hands that the Holy Spirit was given to all children and to all duly qualined adults in Baptism when it was received in its completeness.

In the Eucharist the Holy Spirit was similarly invoked both on the elements and on those who were to partake of them. For the invocation of the Spirit on the Bread and Cup our earliest witness is Cyril of Jerusalem; but there is nothing to shew that the practice began in his time or was limited to the Church of Jerusalem[1]. It was certainly general in the East before the end of our period[2], although in the West the simpler and perhaps primitive 'invocation of God' continued to hold its place in the canon of the mass[3].

The ancient forms of Ordination connect with the laying on of hands prayer for the outpouring on the ordinand of the Holy Spirit, as the source of ministerial power, and contemplate the descent of the Spirit when Orders are validly conferred[4].

Thus the whole Sacramental life of the Church was seen to proceed from the Spirit of grace. It

[1] P. 207 f. [2] Cf. p. 291 ff.

[3] Cyril himself speaks elsewhere of the consecration as effected by the invocation of the Holy Trinity (*catech.* xix. 7).

[4] P. 290 f. The act of imposition of hands was regarded as no more than a significant ceremony, which by Apostolic ordinance accompanied prayer for the Spirit; cf. Aug. *de bapt. c. Donat.* iii. 21 (=xvi) quid est aliud nisi oratio super hominem?

was recognized that while visible elements and ministerial actions are used by Him as effectual signs of His grace, they derive their efficacy from Him alone, and that it is neither to the minister of the Sacrament nor to the outward visible sign that its great effects are to be ascribed, but to the Holy Spirit Himself. It is He who sanctifies and seals the soul in Baptism; who makes the Bread and Cup of the Eucharist to be to the faithful the Body and Blood of Christ; who endues the ministers of the Church with the grace of Orders; who through their acts and words blesses and absolves[1]. The Sacramental teaching of the ancient Church-writers loses the appearance of exaggeration which attaches to it in the judgement of many modern believers, when it is viewed in the light of the ancient doctrine of the Person and work of the Holy Spirit. Men who held that the Creator Spirit, who is the living Energy of God, dwells in the Holy Catholic Church and is operative in her ministerial acts, could find no words adequate to express their sense of the greatness of His work in the Sacraments. To magnify the Sacraments was to magnify the Divine Spirit, who lived and wrought in the Body of Christ.

[1] Cf. pp. 223, 290 f.

IX.

THE WORK OF THE SPIRIT IN THE SANCTIFICATION OF LIFE.

Part III. ix.

It was believed by contemporary writers that the charismatic gifts of the Holy Spirit were still exercised in the second and third centuries. Not only in the remote church or churches from which the *Didache* sprang, but at Rome in the days of Hermas, and in South Gaul within the memory of Irenaeus, prophets delivered their message in Christian assemblies[1]. Even in the middle of the fourth century Cyril of Jerusalem thought it possible that some of his catechumens might receive prophetic powers at their baptism[2]. Nor were the miraculous operations of the Spirit altogether withdrawn from the ancient Church, if we may trust the testimony of Irenaeus[3] and Origen[4], and the half reluctant witness of Theodore[5].

But upon the whole the references in post-apostolic writings to "workings of miracles" and

[1] Pp. 20—25, 74.
[2] Pp. 203, 207.
[3] *Haer.* ii. 32. 4.
[4] *Contra Cels.* i. 2.
[5] P. 262.

prophecy are relatively few, while on the other hand there is a growing insistence on the spiritual and ethical effects of the Spirit's indwelling in the hearts of men. These effects were so manifest that they were recognized by the heathen, and supplied the Christian apologist with his strongest argument. There are few passages in religious literature more profoundly moving than the account of second century Christianity addressed to a heathen friend by the anonymous author of the Epistle to Diognetus[1]. The Holy Spirit is not mentioned, but it is the life of the Spirit which is depicted. It was a new thing in the earth; there was no parallel to it anywhere. Christians were readily distinguished by it not only from their heathen neighbours, but from the Jews, with whom they had been at first confused. They were seen to form a third class or type (tertium genus)[2], living amongst Pagans and Jews, but incapable of mingling with either or losing their identity. Neither Jew nor Pagan could understand the secret of the new life of the Church; and the members of the Church, to whom it was a matter of experience, were at first imperfectly acquainted with its source, its conditions, and its contents. Yet from the first the Christian consciousness connected this new life with the mission of the Paraclete. The peace, the gladness and freedom, the hope of immortality which marked the first age, were traced by

[1] *Ad Diogn.* 5.

[2] Tertullian, *ad nat.* i., *scorp.* 10. Cf. Harnack, *Expansion of Christianity* (E. T.) i. p. 336 ff.

Part III. ix.

those who lived in it to the outpouring of the Holy Spirit[1]. Christians were temples of the Spirit; they had the Paraclete in themselves[2]. The Spirit was the rope by which the Cross lifted them up to God; the ladder by which they ascended to the Son, and through the Son to the Father[3]. The manifold gifts of the Spirit were as the precious stones which formed the breastplate of the High Priest, or the precious ointment, compounded of many spices, which, poured out upon his head, flowed down to the skirts of his clothing[4]; or as the colours that meet without loss of harmony in the garden of the Lord, and owe their rich diversity to the same rain from heaven[5]. All believers knew that the Holy Spirit existed, since they were all conscious of possessing Him; and if they were worthy, their chief concern was to use their great possession aright[6].

So the Church felt and thought about the work of the Spirit in the days before the Macedonian controversy compelled her to re-examine the New Testament and her own experience. The result of deeper study was not a revision of the earlier teaching: it was scarcely even a reconstruction. The experience of the fourth and fifth century did not differ from that of the second and third, and the great theologians of the later period were content to analyse, arrange, and express the facts with more fulness and precision.

[1] Pp. 12, 18, 25.
[2] Pp. 19, 72.
[3] Pp. 15, 90 f., 94.
[4] P. 125 ff.
[5] P. 203.
[6] P. 298 ff.

The Holy Spirit, they teach, is the great sanctifying power in the universe (ἁγιαστικὸν τῶν ὑπὸ θεοῦ διὰ Χριστοῦ γενομένων ἁπάντων[1]). Himself holy, not by participation (οὐ μετοχικῶς), but by nature and essence (φυσικῶς, οὐσιωδῶς)[2], it is His special function in the Holy Trinity to sanctify the creature. He sanctifies angels[3]: He sanctifies the material elements of the Sacraments. But it is in the restoration of human nature that His sanctifying power comes under observation, forming a part of our own experience[4].

In the baptized, unless they drive Him from them, the Holy Spirit dwells and carries forward the work of Sanctification[5]. All knowledge of God and of Christ is derived from the teaching of the Spirit; all union with the Father through the Son is effected by His presence in the soul[6]; all spiritual enlightenment is from Him who is the revealer of the light of God[7]. On the sanctification of the intellect the ancient Church, and especially the ancient Eastern Church, laid great emphasis; but its teaching on this point is saved from the dangers which beset mere intellectualism by the constant recognition of the Holy Spirit as the Source of all true illumination. Even in Clement of Alexandria this note is already distinctly heard: the true Gnostic is under Divine teaching, and his intellect is the

[1] P. 201 f.
[2] Cyril. Alex. *Thes.* 34 (Migne, *P. G.* lxxvi. 666).
[3] Pp. 196, 244, 283.
[4] P. 305.
[5] Pp. 203 ff., 212 f., 223.
[6] Pp. 235, 239.
[7] P. 283.

Part III. ix.

servant of the Spirit of God; he is united to the Spirit through the grace of love[1]. And the note thus struck in the third century is sustained in the centuries that follow; intellectual life in its highest and best form is regarded by all the Greek theologians of this period as a fruit of the sanctifying grace of the Holy Spirit[2].

But it is not in the intellect alone or chiefly that the ancient Church finds the seat of the Sanctifier's work. He has come to restore our whole nature; to renovate its very elements (ἀναστοιχειοῦν)[3]. The process, which begins in regeneration, is continued by the progressive sanctification of every faculty, till we are brought back to the image of God in which we were made. The Spirit is the Image of the Son, as the Son is the Image of the Father[4]; and His seal which stamps, His graving tool which engraves the Divine image upon the soul, is not removed till Christ is formed in us[5]. But the details of the work are many, and some of them may seem to be unworthy of His Hand. It is He that is at work in the man who confesses his sin and is angry with himself because of it[6]; who refuses to look at a forbidden sight, or to seek for worldly gain[7]. It is He that inspires self-control, self-sacrifice, the giving of an alms, the mortification of the flesh. His work varies widely according to

[1] P. 125.
[2] Cf. pp. 205, 216, 233, 244, 283.
[3] P. 270.
[4] P. 283.
[5] Pp. 224, 270.
[6] P. 335.
[7] P. 204.

circumstances, and is to be seen in insignificant lives and actions as well as in the miracles wrought by the greatest of saints; each saint under His guidance has his proper work, but all are equally alive with the life of God[1]. In all the same Divine Worker[2], Who is Himself the Love of God, works a Divine charity: the love of God, the love of men. As a red-hot iron communicates fire, so the Spirit, Himself aglow with the fire of Love, imparts it to all the souls in which He dwells[3]. Without the Divine love, which comes only from the Spirit of God, "all our doings are nothing worth"; even the Sacraments fail to convey grace; even the example of Christ's most holy life is unavailing[4]. Thus, as Augustine points out, a Pelagian view of the Christian life is excluded by the Catholic doctrine of the Holy Spirit; there can be no merit before grace, nor such as can earn grace, since all that is good in us is the work of grace[5]. The responsibility of the baptized, and the duty of co-operation on their part with the gracious workings of the Spirit, are fully recognized by theologians both in East and West[6]. Yet they claim that when the soul yields itself to His call, the life of the Spirit is one of freedom and joy; the spirit of bondage, the fear that has torment, are as far removed from the patristic as they are from the New Testament conception of Christian holiness[7].

[1] Pp. 203, 336.
[2] P. 349.
[3] P. 336.
[4] Pp. 337 f.
[5] P. 335.
[6] Cf. pp. 262, 264, 305, 336.
[7] Cf. pp. 233, 243, 270 f., 305.

Part III. ix.

Lastly, the ancient Church realized that the regenerating and restorative powers of the Holy Spirit, as we see them operating in the faithful, are but the beginnings of His work in them; in St Paul's words, they are the firstfruits of the spiritual harvest, the first instalment of the future heritage[1]. Baptism finds its counterpart in the Resurrection[2], when both in body and soul the saints shall enter on the full life of the Spirit. In that life all that is now but begun will be perfected: the illumination of the mind, the cleansing of the spirit, the filling of our whole nature with rich gifts of grace[3]. The immortality for which the Church looked was not a mere continuance after death of personal identity, nor a mere resuscitation of the body, but the perfecting and perpetuation of that indwelling of the Holy Spirit of which she had daily experience in the life of grace.

Thus the life of grace is eternal life in its earlier stages, and the life of the Saints in light is the same life when it has reached its goal. The former is the beginning of the latter, the latter the perfection of the former; and both are the work of the One Spirit who is the Giver of all spiritual life, present and to come.

If the reader compares this summary of the teaching of the ancient Church on the Person and work of the Holy Spirit with the teaching of the

[1] Pp. 93 f., 261. [2] P. 261.
[3] P. 271.

New Testament on the same subject[1], he will observe certain well-marked differences between them, which are not incompatible with a fundamental agreement. The Apostolic writings record a new experience created by the coming of the Paraclete, and do not stop to enquire into the nature of the Divine Gift. The post-Apostolic Church, brought into daily contact with educated paganism and Gnostic speculation, was compelled to interrogate her faith and experience; and this process is reflected in the patristic literature which it has been the purpose of this book to examine.

1. The questions which forced themselves on early Christian thought in reference to the Holy Spirit were chiefly concerned with the mystery of His Person. In what relation does the Spirit stand to the Father and the Son, with whom He is associated in the appointed words of Baptism? Is the Spirit an energy or an essence? if an essence, is He God or a creature of God? Is He begotten as the Son is begotten? and if so, must we regard Him as a second Son, or as the Son's son? Or, if if He is "not begotten but proceeding," does He proceed from the Father only, or from the Father and the Son, or from the Father through the Son? To these questions a definite and, with one exception, an unanimous answer was returned by the ancient Church; an answer not drawn directly from the New Testament, not arbitrarily determined by authority, but reasoned and worked into detail, the result of long discussion and ripe consideration

[1] See *Holy Spirit in the N. T.*, Part III.

Part III. ix.

which lasted in some instances through several generations. The reasons assigned may not always commend themselves to our judgement. But the decisions remain, and if they are not perfect or final expressions of a mystery which transcends man's understanding, yet they will always serve as stepping-stones by which our feet may be guided when we venture into "the deep things of God."

2. The work of the Holy Spirit had filled a large place in the practical teaching of the New Testament, and it needed little further treatment at the hands of the post-Apostolic Church. Yet there is much in so early a writer as Irenaeus, and still more in Cyril of Jerusalem, Athanasius, and the other theologians of the fourth and fifth centuries, which carries forward the New Testament doctrine of the Spirit's operations, moving along the lines already indicated by St Paul and St John. As the experience of the Church grew, and her outlook was enlarged, she grasped the idea of a great system of spiritual operations which, beginning at Baptism, finds its completion in the Resurrection of the body and the life of the world to come. Further, she saw that the work of the Spirit in the members of Christ is but a part of a far wider energy which is co-extensive with the creation, vitalizing all that lives and sanctifying all that is sanctified. Some aspects of the work of sanctification are specially emphasized: the illuminating power of the Spirit, which reveals God in Christ to the soul, and consecrates the intellect to the service of its Maker;

the restorative power by which the Divine Seal, the Image of the Son, as the Son is of the Father, impresses itself on the nature of man, reproducing the Divine lineaments, and finally deifying and perfecting it in the likeness of God ; the exhilarating power which brightens life and fills it with a joy which anticipates the blessedness of the saints in light. Such views of the Spirit's work are among the commonplaces of patristic theology, and they well deserve the attention of the pastors and teachers of our own time.

It is far from being the purpose of this study of ancient Christian teaching to suggest that the thought of the modern Church should be forced into moulds cast in the first six centuries. The same Holy Spirit who taught the great writers of the ancient Church to conceive of Him in terms which served their generation, may be leading us by other paths which He knows to be more suited to our feet. Yet the substance of the older teaching is also His ; and the heritage of the past is not to be renounced or overlooked by those who press forward to claim new fields of spiritual thought and life.

DEUS QUI CORDA FIDELIUM SANCTI SPIRITUS INLUSTRATIONE DOCUISTI: DA NOBIS IN EODEM SPIRITU RECTA SAPERE, ET DE EIUS SEMPER CONSOLATIONE GAUDERE. PER DOMINUM NOSTRUM IESUM CHRISTUM FILIUM TUUM, QUI TECUM VIVIT ET REGNAT IN UNITATE EIUSDEM SPIRITUS SANCTI DEUS PER OMNIA SAECULA SAECULORUM.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

A.

THE *DIDACHE*.

Since the earlier chapters of this book were passed through the press the *Journal of Theological Studies* has printed under the title "The Problem of the Didache[1]" an essay by Dr Armitage Robinson, Dean of Wells, which claims the serious attention of all students of early Christian literature. The Dean asks for a reconsideration of the literary character, purpose, and date of the *Didache*. He proposes to "attack the problem afresh through an investigation of the author's indebtedness to the writings of St Paul and St Luke," and, it may be added, to the Gospel of St John. His aim is not to arrive at a definite conclusion, but to "provoke discussion[2]." But it is evident that, while he is not prepared to follow Dr Bigg in assigning the *Didache* to the fourth century, or even to place it much later than the spread of Montanism, he gravely distrusts the picture which the author draws of primitive Church life. "The writer of the *Teaching* (he says)...disguises the actual conditions of his own time. The result is that he contributes almost nothing...to advance our knowledge of the early Christian ministry[3]."

[1] *J. T. S.* xiii. pp. 339—356. [2] *Op. cit.* p. 340. [3] P. 354.

Add. Note A.

The Dean has no difficulty in shewing that the second part of the *Didache*, especially in chapters vii—x, contains numerous minute coincidences with the words and phrases of the books of the New Testament mentioned above. He is prepared to find that some of the points may be "dismissed as over-subtle," but he holds that if half of what he has put forward be admitted, "the pen must be drawn through many a sentence, and indeed through whole pages, of some recent descriptions of early Church life and organization[1]."

It is not easy at first sight to discover how a writer's claim to be a trustworthy witness to contemporary circumstances can be affected by his allusions to the Gospels and Epistles. The Dean's suspicions are roused, however, not by the frequency but by the method of his allusions. He believes that his author "has been at great pains to conceal his obligations," and "fully intended" the readers of the *Teaching* to draw a conclusion contrary to the facts[2]. I must confess that after reading the evidence which is produced, I cannot think this charge against him proved. Certainly it is not justified by the mere circumstance that his reminiscences are inexact, or pieced together, or without acknowledgement, for similar literary habits are to be noted in most of the sub-apostolic writers. No *praeiudicium*, as it seems to me, should lie against the author on this ground.

We come then with an open mind to the consideration of the passages in *Did.* xi—xv which deal with the ministry and with Church life as the writer professes to know it. Here, again, the Dean finds a tendency to rely upon certain recollections of St Paul; and his suspicions of the *bona fides* of the writer are confirmed. St Paul enumerates three charismatic orders—Apostles, Prophets, Teachers; and the *Didache*, accordingly, does the same. In his

[1] P. 356. [2] P. 340.

Epistle to the Philippians St Paul writes, "to the saints... with bishops and deacons"; the *Didache*, therefore, mentions these two grades of local Church officers, and none other. Yet Philippians does not appear to have been used elsewhere by the author of the *Didache*; and Acts, which, according to the Dean, he uses frequently, speaks of the local officers as presbyters and not as bishops, except when it uses 'bishop' to describe the work of the presbyter. No doubt the Apostles of the *Didache* are "shadowy personages[1]," i.e., we know little or nothing of them from other Christian writings of the period. But it is not easy to conjecture the motive which could have led any writer of the time to resuscitate the title, or if he did so, to speak of Apostles with the small respect which he obviously entertains for their kind. The Prophets of the *Teaching*, it is admitted, are "more of a reality"; indeed, their activity in the second century is too well attested to be matter of dispute. But in his treatment of the Prophets the author clearly forsakes St Paul; he forbids any criticism of their prophesyings, and the picture which he draws of the prophetic ministry stands in other ways quite apart from that which is given in 1 Cor. xiv. It is surely unnecessary to suppose that the permission to the Prophets to celebrate the Eucharist at such length as they please is derived from the verses in that chapter which deal with the use of a tongue in the congregation. Still more ingenious, but not more convincing, is the theory that the Prophets are called the *ἀρχιερεῖς* of the Church because the fourth Gospel says that Caiaphas *ἀρχιερεὺς ὢν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκείνου ἐπροφήτευσεν*[2].

Add. Note A.

It may be freely granted that the writer of the *Didache* is more or less the author of the forms which are provided, and of some of the rules prescribed for the regulation of Church life worship. It is, e.g., not only possible but likely

[1] P. 350. [2] St John xi. 51.

Add. Note A.

that the Eucharistic prayers and thanksgivings of *Did.* ix—x are at least in part the work of the compiler of the *Didache*, just as the so-called Clementine liturgy is substantially due to the compiler of the *Constitutions*[1], and the same may be true of some of the directions which are given in *Did.* xi—xiii for the treatment of itinerant Apostles and Prophets. In fact the constantly recurring imperatives imply that the writer intends to impress upon the church or churches whose confidence he possesses a certain order of ritual and discipline such as he himself approves. Whether he succeeded in this purpose, we do not know; it may be that his liturgical forms were never used or his rules observed. But it is another and a very different thing to suggest that the general conditions of Church life which are presupposed in the *Didache* had no real existence anywhere; that the whole picture has been artfully constructed out of scattered hints in the New Testament, which have been purposely so disguised that they can be detected only by a process of critical analysis. We ask ourselves what purpose this apparently futile ingenuity could have been intended to serve; and until some intelligible purpose has been suggested, we continue to regard the *Didache* as an honest attempt to legislate for an unknown and probably obscure Church which still received occasional visits from itinerant missionaries and prophets, and where from time to time a prophet settled down and ministered side by side with the local presbyter-bishops and deacons.

[1] Brightman, *Liturgies E. and W.*, p. xxxiv.

B.

THE ODES OF SOLOMON.

In the autumn of 1909 Dr Rendel Harris published from a Syriac MS. in his possession a collection of forty-two Odes which he characterized as, in part at least, products of the second half of the first century, and as originally Greek and of Judaeo-Christian origin. A second edition, which appeared in 1911, gave him the opportunity of adding to his work a bibliography of the literature called forth in the interval by his discovery, and summarizing the criticism which his first edition had received. Nearly every one of the discoverer's conclusions has been contested, while his critics disagree among themselves as widely as they depart from Dr Harris. "If, for example, it was suggested that they—the Odes—were Judaeo-Christian in origin, the contradiction comes from two opposite sides, one school affirming that they are not Christian, and the other that they are not Jewish. If, again, the suggestion is made that the time of their composition is the latter part of the first century A.D., the contentions have to be met that they are (1) nearly a hundred years earlier or (2) nearly a hundred years later than the time proposed[1]." The year and a half which have elapsed since these words were written do not seem to have brought the critics nearer to a common understanding, though it may be permitted to one who looks on at the *mêlée* to suspect that the view which maintains a Christian origin for the Odes, and, on the whole, a second century date, will ultimately prevail.

Meanwhile, the Odes cannot be safely used as an authority for the history of a Christian doctrine. This is the more to be regretted since they abound, beyond any other document of early patristic times, with allusions to

[1] *Odes and Psalms of Solomon*, ed. 2, p. xiii.

Add. Note B.

the Holy Spirit; and furthermore, they belong to a class of literature which is poorly represented in the extant writings of the first three centuries[1]. But though the witness of the Odes cannot for the present find a place in the text of this book, the reader may be glad to see its most important features brought together in a note[2].

As might have been expected in a book at once so early and so mystical, the Odes have little to say either of the place of the Spirit in the Holy Trinity, or of His work in the Conception and Baptism of the Lord. Yet each of these points is incidentally mentioned. "His thought—the thought of the Most High—was like a letter; His will descended from on high...and the letter was a great volume[3] which was wholly written by the finger of God: and the name of the Father was on it, and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, to rule for ever and ever[4]." "[The Spirit] opened the womb of the Virgin[5] and she received conception and brought forth; and the Virgin became a Mother with many mercies[6]." "The Dove fluttered over the Messiah, because He was her head; and she sang over Him, and her voice was heard[7]." But it is the Holy Spirit of the inner life that is most frequently in the mind of the author; and here the Odes are singularly rich and fresh. "This is the Spirit of the Lord, which doth not lie, which teacheth the sons of men to know His ways[8]." "Thy seal is known: and Thy creatures know it: and Thy heavenly hosts possess it: and the elect archangels are clad with it[9]." "As the hand[10] moves over the harp, and the strings speak, so

[1] Cf. p. 154.

[2] The translations are taken (by his kind permission) from the second edition of Dr Rendel Harris's book.

[3] "*Or* tablet." [4] Ode xxiii. 5, 19 f.

[5] Dr Barnes (*J. T. S.* xi. p. 574) prefers "The womb of the Virgin had no power."

[6] Ode xix. 6. [7] Ode xxiv. 1. [8] Ode iii. 12.

[9] Ode iv. 8. [10] "*Or perhaps* plectrum."

speaks in my members the Spirit of the Lord, and I speak by His love...Our spirits praise His holy Spirit. For there went forth a stream and became a river great and broad ...it spread over the face of the whole earth, and filled everything: and all the thirsty upon earth were given to drink of it; and thirst was relieved and quenched: for from the Most High the draught was given. Blessed then are the ministers of that draught who are entrusted with that water of His: they have assuaged the dry lips, and the will that had fainted they have raised up; and souls that were near departing they have caught back from death... they lived by the water of life for ever[1]." "Fill ye waters for yourselves from the living fountain of the Lord, for it is opened to you: and come all ye thirsty, and take the draught; and rest by the fountain of the Lord...It came infinitely and invisibly: and until it was set in the midst they did not know it: blessed are they who have drunk therefrom and have found rest thereby[2]." "My heart was cloven and its flower appeared; and grace sprang up in it: and it brought forth fruit to the Lord, for the Most High clave my heart by His Holy Spirit and searched my affection towards Him: and filled me with His love[3]." "Teach me the Psalms of Thy truth, that I may bring forth fruit in Thee: and open to me the harp of Thy Holy Spirit, that with all its notes I may praise Thee, O Lord[4]." "A cup of milk was offered to me: and I drank it in the sweetness of the delight of the Lord. The Son is the cup, and He who was milked is the Father: and the Holy Spirit milked Him...and the Holy Spirit opened His bosom and mingled the milk from the two breasts of the Father; and gave the mixture to the world without their knowing: and they who receive in its fulness are the ones on the right hand[5]." "I was clothed with the covering of Thy Spirit,

Add. Note B.

[1] Ode vi. 1 ff. [2] Ode xxx. 1 ff. [3] Ode xi. 1 f.
[4] Ode xiv. 8. [5] Ode xix. 1—4.

Add. Note B.

and Thou didst remove from me my raiment of skin[1]." "As the wings of doves over their nestlings, and the mouth of their nestlings towards their mouths, so also are the wings of the Spirit over my heart: my heart is delighted and exults...Immortal life has come forth and given me to drink, and from that life is the spirit within me; and it cannot die, for it lives[2]." "I rested on the Spirit of the Lord: and the Spirit raised me on high: and made me stand on my feet in the height of the Lord...The Spirit brought me forth before the face of the Lord; and although a son of man, I was named the Illuminate, the Son of God[3]."

The Bishop of Ossory (Dr J. H. Bernard), who holds that the Odes are of purely Christian origin and belong to the middle or latter half of the second century, has in an essay of more than ordinary interest[4] suggested that they form a collection of "hymns packed with allusions to Baptism," and possibly are "nothing more or less than Hymns of the Baptized." This theory may not be capable of demonstration, at least in its fuller form; but no one can read even the extracts which have been collected in this note without recognizing words and ideas which the Church of the early centuries undoubtedly connected with Christian Baptism. Professor W. Emery Barnes thinks it "possible or even probable that the sixth Ode is a Montanist utterance[5]"; and indeed it does not seem unlikely that the collection as a whole owes its origin or its present form to the quickening of faith in the Paraclete of which Montanism at its best was at once a token and a cause. In any case these early hymns, perhaps beyond any other collection, ancient or modern, deserve to be called Hymns of the Spirit and of the spiritual life of men.

[1] Ode xxv. 8. [2] Ode xxviii. 1—3, 7. [3] Ode xxxvi. 1—3.

[4] *J. T. S.* xii. pp. 1—31. See Dr Harris's remarks on this Essay in his second edition of the Odes, pp. xxii—xxx, xxxiv—xxxvii.

[5] *Expositor*, ser. VII. x. 57.

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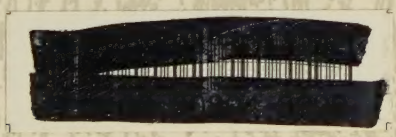

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